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THE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

JOHN GALT.

"I WILL A ROUND UNVARNISHED TALE DELIVER."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

COCHRANE AND M'CRONE,

11, WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL.

1833.

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G179
WITHDRAWN

G. WOODFALL, ANGEL COURT, SKINNER STREET, LONDON.

CONTENTS.

EPOCH SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

Reflections.—Unprovided for difficulties.—Presentiments.—Arrival at New York.—News from the Consul.—At Geneva.—At Batavia.—Buffaloe.—Canada newspapers.—Conduct of Mr. Rolfe.—Arrival.—Wait on the Governor.—Consequences 1

CHAPTER II.

Letters from Sir P. Maitland 8

CHAPTER III.

The charges of the Lieutenant-Governor.—My private letter to Mr. Horton in consequence 17

CHAPTER IV.

Send copy of the letter to Mr. Horton to Sir P. Maitland.—Motive.—Appoint the Attorney General my adviser.—Proceed with my business 29

CHAPTER V.

At Quebec.—Attentions from the Earl and Countess of Dalhousie.—Mention to his Lordship my reception in Upper Canada.—Business.—An amateur theatre.—Return to Upper Canada..... 33

CHAPTER VI.

Inquiries respecting the climate of Lower Canada.—Vegetation under the snow.—Another local phenomenon.—Floating ice in the river.—Cross the river..... 38

CHAPTER VII.

Page

A project.—Means of effecting it.—The turning of the river St. Lawrence.—Motives for the work 44

CHAPTER VIII.

Cause of my soliciting the superintendency.—My situation.—Accommodations.—Invidious remark.—Colonization.—My system.—Plan of buildings 49

CHAPTER IX.

The founding of Guelph 56

CHAPTER X.

Plan of taking payments in produce.—Apply for a valuable grant of land to the government, and obtain it 64

CHAPTER XI.

Voyage on Lake Huron 70

CHAPTER XII.

A stipulation in the Company's contract with Government.—Curious stratagem.—Reflections.—Visit Guelph.—Visitors.—Exploring the Grand River.—Return to York 87

CHAPTER XIII.

Remove to Burlington Bay.—La Guayarian emigrants.—Festival at Guelph.—Reflections 93

EPOCH SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Reflections.—Troubles.—Colonelcy of Militia.—Fancy Ball.—Private notice of a coming reprimand.—Interview with Sir Pere-

Page

grine Maitland.—Send in my resignation.—The colonelcy suspended 103

CHAPTER II.

Perplexities.—Extend my knowledge of the Americans.—A farce.—Arrival of my family.—Enquiries.—Removal to Guelph.—Cardinal Weld.—Rumours of the Company breaking up.—Arrival of the Accountant 110

CHAPTER III.

The Accountant.—Incivility of the Directors for favours granted.—Opening of the road to Lake Huron.—Sickness of the labourers.—Quarrel with the accountant.—Final determination to return to England 120

CHAPTER IV.

New rumours of the Company breaking up.—Strange conduct of the directors.—Payment due to government.—No money.—Resolution.—Effects.—Mr. Fellows' report.—The directors of the Canada Company allow a bill for cash received to be protested ... 128

CHAPTER V.

Acquisitions of knowledge.—Ancient fortifications.—Digging a well in a rock.—A funereal urn.—Natural phenomena.—A vast tree 138

CHAPTER VI.

New Articles of export.—Operations.—Intentions.—A discovery .. 146

CHAPTER VII.

Resume personal narrative.—Journey to Lake Huron.—Lost ourselves at midnight in the forest, sixty miles from a known habitation.—Alarming adventure.—Scene at Goderich.—Adieu 152

CHAPTER VIII.

Page

Speak of departure.—Conduct of the settlers.—Leave Guelph.—Letter in my behalf from the Lieutenant Governor to the Secretary of State.—Reach New York.—Hear of my being superseded.—Arrival at Liverpool.—Reach London.—Consequences.. 159

CHAPTER IX.

A letter from my sister.—Her arrival in London.—Troubles 166

EPOCH EIGHTH.

CHAPTER I.

Lawrie Todd.—Southennan.—Think of emigrating.—Two kindly circumstances.—Life of Lord Byron. 173

CHAPTER II.

Doubts of Byron's originality.—Plagiarisms from Pickersgill.—Plagiarisms complained of by Mr. Moore.—Verses by Mr. Moore 179

CHAPTER III.

Incidental fracas with Sir John Cam Hobhouse.—Pot versus kettle.—His appearance in Fraser's shop.—The Countess Guiccioli . 190

CHAPTER IV.

Editor of the Courier.—Politics of the paper.—Whigs and Tories.—Qualities of a newspaper editor.—Authors 196

CHAPTER V.

Visitation of infirmity.—Go to Cheltenham. — Lives of the Players..... 202

CHAPTER VI.

Page
Bogle Corbet.—Allusion to Sir Walter Scott.—Estimate..... 208

CHAPTER VII.

Reflections on my own works..... 219

CHAPTER VIII.

Continued.—Annals of the Parish.—Provost..... 226

CHAPTER IX.

Obligations to Mr. Blackwood.—The Life of Mr. West.—Origin.—His lectures.—Origin of the Mermaid.—The Witness.—A player's anecdote..... 235

CHAPTER X.

Sense of disease.—Abridged means of knowledge.—Rise of Canadian stock.—Joint stock companies.—Class of persons to whom adapted.—Fallacy as to interest.—Their objects.—The objects of commerce.—Kind of superabundant population.—Begin again to scheme..... 242

CHAPTER XI.

Relax in literary pursuits.—Works.—Of the Member and Radical.—Dedication of the latter..... 250

CHAPTER XII.

Schemes and projects..... 255

CHAPTER XIII.

Tontines.—Plan of emancipation for the slaves.—Scheme of colonial currency.—Legislative reform..... 262

CHAPTER XIV.

A constellation and a planet..... 268

CHAPTER XV.

Origin of the interview between Sir Andrew Wylie and King

Page

George the Third; with anecdotes of other members of the royal family..... 274

CHAPTER XVI.

Conclusion..... 284

Appendix..... 293

The Star of Destiny..... 371

Separate Works..... 410

THE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

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EPOCH SIXTH.

CHAPTER I.

Reflections.—Unprovided for difficulties.—Presentiments.—Arrival at New York.—News from the Consul,—at Geneva.—At Batavia.—Buffaloe.—Canada newspapers.—Conduct of Mr. Rolfe.—Arrival.—Wait on the Governor.—Consequences.

I DID not feel myself entering seriously the arena of life, till I undertook my second mission to Canada. Absurd as the expression may seem, it is nevertheless just. Whatever I had done before or encountered, seemed mere skirmishing to what then awaited me. I felt the full weight of my task, it is true, but a persuasion that if it were

well done, I would obtain a degree of enviable credit. The employment was inviting from that circumstance, and the difficulties were therefore undervalued; they were, however, seen distinctly enough, but I trusted too much to the indulgence that would be conceded to time. I overlooked my being the representative of others, who had not paid the same attention to the subject as I had done myself, and who were not in consequence sufficiently acquainted with the difficulties to be overcome. In this there was an error, a pardonable one, however, for it implied that I only entertained that respect for the directors of the Canada Company, which their conduct had obtained for them in the world; a man of more actual experience in the business awaiting him, would have fortified himself with better provisions, but though I thought them necessary, they did not seem of primary importance, or I never would have embarked under the same aspect of circumstances. Far be it from me, in stating this, to impute blame: I think the directors did what they thought best. However, my object is merely to request the reader to bear in mind, that with the most liberal discretionary authority that any man could require in a great trust, and responsible for the administration of nearly a million of money, I was hampered with the most inconsistent restrictions.

I was not allowed to take with me any clerk, far less a person in whom I could confide; I had not even a letter of introduction but the official vouchers, although there were in the directory, gentlemen who had resided in Canada many years, and had numerous friends in all parts of the country. I had, no doubt, my own friends, but I had very little personal knowledge of them. In a word, I was left destitute of those resources of advice and information, which the nature of my mission so greatly required.

Perhaps it may be said that a person of more prudence would have hesitated to undertake so important a charge under such circumstances, but as my first class of objects were of the nature of inquiries, I did not regard these omissions as I ought; but I did attach importance to them, and they did weigh so heavily on my mind, that for the greatest part of the passage out to New York, they actually seemed to me as of a sinister character, in spite of reason and the honourable reputation of those I had to deal with. In fact I could not entirely repel a strange presentiment with which I was haunted, that there was something of method in the proceedings that defied discernment, at least it baffled mine.

The cares of my duties commenced with my arrival at New York, and the considerations which

depressed me on the voyage became fainter, but still I could not entirely shake off the bodements with which my thoughts were occasionally depressed.

In stating this, I am convinced that all who read it will think me indulgent to unwarrantable fancies, but the future will show how far I was affected by mere imaginary doubts.

The novelty of arriving in New York would have superseded all apprehensions, but it happened that on the day I landed, the consul mentioned to me in a manner not calculated to allay my nameless apprehensions, that there had been a trial concerning Mackenzie, the editor of the Colonial Advocate, in which I was mentioned as one of his advisers. The story at the time surprised, but little interested me; I only recollected the file of his newspapers, and the civility of the editors in general; nor could I imagine that there was any thing in the transaction susceptible of an equivocal intrepretation.

From New York Mr. W—— and I proceeded to Geneva, where I stopped some time to examine the forms, books, and bonds, in the Pulteney's-office there; where all was in the frankest manner thrown open, and I was highly pleased with my reception.

From Geneva I went to Batavia, and examined

the same things in the Holland Company's office, where I experienced equal confidence and gratification, especially when it turned out that I had many years before been acquainted with some of the agent's friends. He was related to the Mons. Otto, who signed the preliminaries, on the part of the French, to the treaty of Amiens.

From Batavia we proceeded to Buffaloe, and without any particular adventure arrived at Niagara, with the intention of going to York next day. Here we met with Canada newspapers, and among them with Sir Peregrine Maitland's speech at the opening of the provincial parliament. Conceive my astonishment, however, on seeing, notwithstanding what had been done for Mr. Rolfe, and his letter of acknowledgment, that he had given notice of his intention to bring in an alien bill, although the governor from the throne had announced a similar measure.

I had never then experienced such a prostration of principle on the part of any man.

Next day we reached York, and I immediately waited on the governor to deliver the letters from the secretary of state, and from the directors of the Canada Company. In the course of the conversation which ensued, I complained of the manner in which Mr. Rolfe had acted, and said, that

if he persevered in his resolution, I should feel it my duty to petition the lower house against his nonsensical bill, for such it appeared to me to be, as it would have the effect of molesting the province, and thereby indirectly injuring the interests of the Canada Company.

The governor, at this interview, when I delivered Mr. Horton's message, mentioned that Mackenzie* had made use of a letter I had sent him, in a trial to obtain damages for an outrage he had suffered in his property by a riot.

Little more then passed, but he invited me to dine with him, and politely requested I would bring Mr. W. with me. In the mean time I sent the two letters which Archdeacon Strachan had, I have no doubt, with the kindest intentions, transmitted from Edinburgh, little, I think, aware that his own communication disclosed how much I should stand in need of patronage in the province. I then sent for Mr. Rolfe, and before Mr. W. made no effort to mitigate my reproaches. His excuse for the part he was playing was very lame, offering to introduce me to some members of his faction in the house of assembly, and particularly to a Mr. Bidwell, who was afterwards speaker, but I refused to have any thing to do with him or them,

* Editor of the Colonial Advocate.

and I never afterwards spoke to him, or in any way recognized him, further than once in passing on the highway by a cold bow.

Subsequent transactions had, perhaps, some effect in hardening the decision I had come to, but never having been a politician all my life, the conduct of Rolfe was not calculated to seduce me from the state of seclusion in which I had ever kept myself.

After dinner, at the government house, when the company adjourned to the gallery to take coffee, I thought that I perceived, from some sort of free-masonry between the two gentlemen to whom I had the letters from Archdeacon Strachan, that they appeared not to have previously communicated with each other, and that they had something to say together. They did not notice that they had received the letters, but I mentioned to them my surprize at the conduct of Rolfe, and declared if he persisted in attempting to force his alien bill, I would expose his conduct to the public by petition.

This, be it observed, was within a few hours after my arrival, when I had no time to do any thing, and when, what I proposed to do, was necessarily contingent on the approval of Sir Peregrine Maitland.

CHAPTER II.

Letters from Sir P. Maitland.

THE inexplicable boding of evil with which I had entered Upper Canada, and the causes of which I have explained, was not long of taking a tangible form. Next morning after my arrival I received the following letter from the lieutenant-governor, which I ascribed to the nature of the verbal communication I had made, on delivering to him the Secretary of State's letter.

No. I.

"Government House, Dec. 13th, 1826.

"DEAR SIR,

"I must confess I experienced no small degree of disappointment, when I was last night informed by Major Hillier, of the course you were pursuing in respect to a bill before the House of Assembly considered by you as interfering with the interests of the Land Company. You cannot be ignorant that it rests with me at once to refuse the royal assent, or to reserve (as I may think proper) any bill for the signification of his Ma-

jesty's pleasure; and you must permit me to say, that in my opinion, it would have been consistent with the spirit of the communication, which, through your hands, I had the honour to receive from the Court of Directors, had you laid your objections before me, instead of courting a communication with a party in the assembly whose proceedings are principally marked by their virulent and undiscriminating opposition to this government. The course which I have alluded to, it cannot, I think, be denied, would be more consistent with propriety, and obviously more advantageous to the general interests of the Company, as the reservation of a bill would necessarily afford the Court of Directors an opportunity of making known their sentiments to his majesty's ministers before the objectionable enactment could possibly have the operation of a law.

"From your conversation yesterday, as well as from the highly gratifying and satisfactory letter of the Court of Directors, I cannot but suppose that they feel the strongest confidence in the justice of his Majesty's ministers and of the Colonial Government in all matters which can affect the interests of the Canada Company; and you may be assured, that the measure I have above mentioned is one which I should always be disposed to adopt on a well grounded representation of any

unjust interference with their rights; and by the way, in respect to any bill of naturalization, the reservation of it is the only course which I am at liberty to adopt.

"You must be aware that any communication had by you with members in opposition with a view to influence their public conduct, would subject the government to misconstructions and misrepresentations more unpleasant and injurious than any acts of those persons can possibly be. I am sure that his Majesty's government, and the Court of Directors of the Canada Company, of whose sentiments I am so unreservedly put in possession, would be most unwilling to believe that your expectation of exercising an influence on the conduct of such persons could be grounded on any community of feeling, or any strong tie of personal friendship; and if on the other hand, it were left to be supposed, that feeling and thinking and acting with the government, you trusted to any personal influence from the weight which the confidence reposed in you by the Canada Company, or by the government, must confer upon you, to make representations which might naturally be supposed to be derived from the government, you must feel that it would be a kind of discretion which I could not willingly commit to any person whatsoever. And I think it right to acquaint you

that any indirect attempts to influence the public conduct of the members of Assembly is a course diametrically opposite to those principles upon which this government is conducted.

"You must perceive how solicitous I am to avoid all occasion of difficulty, and to remove every obstacle to the most candid communication, when I have availed myself of the first occasion thus fully to express my sentiments upon a subject of no common delicacy, and I think it right to go a step further, and to observe that it is only by your abstaining altogether from mixing in local politics, that a good understanding can be insured; for I must frankly confess, that the impressions I have received from past occurrences would be very apt to dispose me to put an unfavourable construction upon such interference.

"I have the honour to be, dear sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"P. MAITLAND."

"To John Galt, Esq."

To this I returned the following answer:

No. II.

"Steamboat Hotel, 13th Dec. 1826.

"DEAR SIR,

"I cannot but feel sensibly indebted to your Excellency for the friendly candour of the communication you have done me the honour to make with reference to my conversation last night in the Government House with Major Hillier. I most

sincerely repent that what I said to Major Hillier should have been so expressed as to lead him so completely to misunderstand me, or to suppose me so unacquainted either with the powers or the discretion confided to his Majesty's representative.

"I fully comprehend the delicacy of the circumstances to which your Excellency alludes, and I feel indeed grateful for the suggestion with respect to local politics. I hope I shall be able to satisfy your Excellency that I have no disposition to meddle with any such matters, and I am only anxious for an occasion in which I may prove the sincerity of this sentiment, as well as of those assurances in the public letter of the Canada Company, which I had the honour to deliver, and which was framed by myself.

"It gives me great pain to understand that your Excellency should have received, of past occurrences, any impression unfavourable respecting me. I am totally unable to devise what these occurrences have been; but the kindness of the caution to prevent me from falling into error, is an assurance that I shall be afforded an opportunity of being informed in what manner I may, by possibility, have been misrepresented.

"I will not allow myself to suppose, that the unwarranted breach of common decorum, which has been made with a note of indispensible courtesy, can be included in the occurrences alluded to,

because the politeness of Sir Peregrine Maitland would suggest a far better excuse for the incident to which I refer, than any explanation I could undertake to offer, if excuse in such a trifling case were necessary. I hope it will not be deemed unbecoming in me on the present occasion to say, that I esteem your Excellency's communication as one of personal favour to myself, and calculated by the feeling it has afforded to serve the interests with which I am entrusted.

"I have the honour to be, dear sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"JOHN GALT."

"To his Excellency, Sir P. Maitland, G.C.B."

The reader is requested to bear in mind, that at this time I had not any opportunity of making myself either acquainted with local feelings or local politics.

My reply to Sir P. Maitland brought an answer which did indeed surprise me, for it shewed such a total misapprehension of character, and, as it appeared to me, ignorance of human nature, that I am yet at a loss to conceive how he could pen such an epistle. He surely never could have discerned that he was bringing against me vital charges. To suppose that any man who had the smallest portion of self-respect would submit to

such accusations, can only be excused by believing that he did not give credit to them.

That he had full reliance on his authorities I unequivocally believe, and that he heard their inventions in consequence with credulous ears, is equally evident; but that he had any other ground for giving heed to them I knew to be untrue, and of course could have no desire but to know what the charges were. I acquitted him most entirely of being actuated by any sinister motive, and therefore what I afterwards said must be regarded as less addressed to him than to those he too readily believed.

His second letter was:

No. III.

"Government House, 14th Dec. 1826.

"DEAR SIR,

"I can have no objection to afford you the explanation which you are desirous to obtain; but it is for yourself to consider whether it may not tend to prejudice that good understanding which the Company desires, and which I am equally anxious to preserve. If you are confident that you can so entirely separate individual feeling from public duty as to justify your repeating the request, I know not that in justice to you, or to myself, I can hesitate to comply.

"You may, in the mean time, be assured that you will not find in me any disposition to comply

less readily with any wish of yours, and of the Canada Company, than the Court of Directors can have anticipated.

"Allow me, on this occasion, to ask whether from your intimation that you framed the letter, which you presented to me from the Court of Directors, I am to infer that it is in any degree the less to be regarded as conveying the sentiments and wishes of the Company; or whether your appointment extends to a more sole and exclusive direction of its affairs, than I might have been naturally led to suppose.

"I have the honour to be, dear sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"P. MAITLAND."

"To John Galt, Esq."

An explicit answer was necessary, and mine was as follows:

No. IV.

"Steamboat Hotel, 14th Dec. 1826.

"DEAR SIR,

"Being altogether unconscious of having in any way, or at any time, done, said, or written, the slightest matter of intentional offence towards the Colonial Government, I should be wanting in the respect due to myself and to your Excellency, were I not to repeat the request for an explanation. I shall never allow my private feelings to interfere with my public duty.

"I am satisfied that in my trusts for the Canada Company, your Excellency will afford me every aid and favour which the Court of Directors anticipated; the condescension of your candid admonition of yesterday, I have really felt as an earnest of the good understanding which I am persuaded will continue.

"In adverting to the public letter of the Court of Directors, and as having been framed by myself, I was only desirous that your Excellency should connect me more intimately with the assurances which it contains, that the officers of the Company would be found in unison with those of the Government; that document conveys the unanimous sentiments of the Court, and I am only to be considered as acting under specific instructions.

"I have the honour to be, dear sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"JOHN GALT."

"To His Excellency, Sir P. Maitland, G.C.B."

CHAPTER III.

The charges of the Lieutenant-Governor.—My private letter to Mr. Horton in consequence.

BEFORE I received the answer to my reiteration for an account of the delinquency of which Sir Peregrine Maitland believed me guilty, I endeavoured to recollect every thing of my transactions that affected him. The preceding narrative describes them all. I would not be wilfully guilty of misrepresenting any fact, and if aught has been omitted, the omission is wholly a fault of memory.

His answer was as follows:—

No. V.

"Government House, December 14th, 1826.

"DEAR SIR,

"I did hope that my letter, having but the single object in view which you appear correctly to have understood, would not have brought on any thing like a discussion with respect to past occurrences, for it has been my desire to convince you, that it is only your proceedings from this time, at which your mission is officially announced to me, that will be allowed to influence any acts of this government in relation to the Canada Com-

pany. It was not however in my power to be so explicit as I desired to be without making use of the expression which has appeared to you to give a claim to some explanation.

" 1. I mention it as an impression which I have reason to think was not by any means confined to myself, or to the members of this government, or even of this society, that during your last visit here you discovered a disposition to extend your enquiries, which were to be directed to a specific object, to public matters, not having any obvious connexion with it, and that somehow or other it happened, that you were resorted to in a manner that none of your brother commissioners were, by persons who stated themselves to have rights to claim, or wrongs to redress; and that you did not appear sufficiently to feel, that besides that there was no possible pretence for your lending a credulous or even a ready ear to complaints of any description, it clearly became you in a particularly marked manner to disclaim all appearance of interposing, and all right to interpose, in the public matters of this colony,—an interposition, indeed, which never could be necessary, because an immediate appeal to the decision of the king's government is uniformly afforded by me to any person whose application I might feel it my duty to reject.

" 2. Again, I will not conceal from you that I have been applied to for explanations from the Colonial Department, which were rendered necessary by communications received from you, upon various public measures of this government; and that, setting aside the consideration that these were not all on subjects very closely connected with the object of your late mission, and that several of the matters contained in them were so misunderstood as to be wholly misrepresented, I could not fail to be struck with the apparent want of disposition to do justice either to the motives or the measures of the colonial government, as well as with the want of fairness in some of the arguments used.

" 3. I do not wish you to believe that these considerations, added to your communications to Major Hillier on the day of your arrival, are all that I alluded to; it would not be right that I should suffer you to remain in the belief that I regard as trifling the particular circumstance that you consider as such, or that I am capable of preventing its having its natural effect on my mind. Though a breach of confidence on the part of a very worthless person may have brought your letters to Mr. M'Kenzie before the public, the fact is not less a fact, from the manner of its becoming known, and to me the great occasion for regret

has been, that a person who it was desirable should be most closely connected with the government, in conduct and in feeling, should have occasion to reproach with a breach of private confidence the editor of a paper distinguished above all others by a scurrilous abuse of the government, and which was saved only from prosecution by the despicable character of its contents, and by the contempt of all persons of good feeling for its obscure and unprincipled conductor.

"I did indeed participate in the mortification and astonishment of the public in whose hearing your letters were read. I regretted to see the support of so respectable an association as the Canada Company given with apparent eagerness to such a production, at a time when the Company was declared not to exist for any other purpose of patronage but this. And when I heard of the warm commendations of the talent displayed in attacks upon my government, and of the intimations conveyed in your private letters as to the manner in which attacks upon public officers might be made with greater caution and equal effect, you will not be surprised that as governor of this colony I felt keener regret, from the reflection that your residence here was alone owing to the circumstance of your being vested with the execution of a royal commission under the seal of this pro-

vince, and that it was as embarrassing as it was extraordinary, to have an additional weight afforded to your communications, by the very circumstance which I thought must have rendered them impossible.

"I have now said all that I desire to say on this subject, and must beg to add that I cannot continue a correspondence of this nature further; and that if you discern in this or in my former letter any reason to apprehend that I have formed erroneous impressions, you may rest perfectly assured that every just effect will be given to your future proceedings for removing them, and you may in the mean time rely that you will not find in me any disposition, from the circumstances I have laid before you, to comply less readily with every wish of yours and of the Company than the Court of Directors can have anticipated.

"I have the honour to be, dear sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"P. MAITLAND."

"John Galt, Esq."

No. VI.

"Thursday evening.

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this day, and in consequence of the request you have repeated I send you the explanation you desire; and I take this opportunity

of thanking you for the satisfactory explanation you have afforded me in the last paragraph of your letter.

"P. M."

On this letter I had only to remark the prohibition of any reply. It left me no alternative but to make a private communication of the whole affair to Mr. Horton, which I did, as follows :—

"(Private.)

"Little York, 18th Dec. 1826.

"DEAR SIR,

"I was not sensible of the obligations you laid me under when you advised me to request Sir Peregrine Maitland to communicate directly with myself, should any thing be reported to him respecting me or my proceedings; but an incident has already happened, which has caused me, and deeply too, to feel the kindness of your advice. Before, however, you take the trouble of looking over the appended correspondence, I ought to state that my reception by his Excellency was most satisfactory; indeed, considering the impressions which had been made to my prejudice, I shall ever deem it singularly well calculated to have prevented me from suspecting I had been such an object of malicious espionage.

"You will recollect under what circumstances I brought Dr. Strachan and Mr. Rolph into communion in London, and the good reasons which in consequence I had to expect that the bitterness of party animosity here would be moderated. I had really strong cause to hope the latter gentleman would be the first to afford the example of moderation. Judge then of my disappointment when, on arriving at Niagara, I saw by the newspapers the course which he had adopted at the opening of the provincial parliament.

"My first duty on reaching this place was to wait, as instructed, on the Governor. Conscious of never having given *him* any cause of offence, I received his very cordial reception as an earnest of an agreeable accomplishment of the objects of my mission; and on returning from the Government House I sent for Mr. Rolph, and in no equivocal terms expressed to him how greatly he had disappointed me. A friend was present at all which has passed between us.

"In the evening, at the Government House, I spoke to Major Hillier on the subject, and among other things connected with it, remarked, that as whatever tended to exhibit the country at a distance in an unsettled or unsound state, would of necessity impair the interests of the Canada Company, it would be my duty to take a decided part

against any measure having that tendency,—that the alien question, as mooted by Mr. Rolph, was of this description, and I added that, IF his Excellency had no objection, I should, besides remonstrating with Mr. Rolph on the intemperance of his party, petition against his Bill, for having adopted that act of the late king which I have pointed out to yourself as making mere residence in a foreign country a species of high treason. That Major Hillier intentionally misrepresented the conversation to his Excellency is, of course, not to be supposed, but it would seem that his report produced a most unfavourable impression. The letter No. I. was the result. To his Excellency's letter marked No. III. I had no choice but to repeat the request for an explanation, as in No. IV. By a felicitous instance of tact and good taste, to prevent further discussion, his Excellency had anticipated the repetition of the request by having No. V. prepared to send when he received No. IV. You will see by No. VII. that I apprised Major Hillier of the mistake into which he had fallen, and you will on reading his note, No. VIII., discover, without the necessity of comment, that he had confounded the hopes which I had been led to cherish of more moderate proceedings on the part of Mr. Rolph, with the measure which that gentleman, by a violation of parliamentary decorum, had

so much to my surprise and disappointment, brought forward. So far therefore as respects the original cause of discussion, which I cannot regret, and which reflects honour on the candour and feelings of Sir P. Maitland, there need be no further observation; but the several heads of the allegations against me in No. V. require that each should be particularly noticed.

"With respect to paragraph No. 1. in that letter, I can only say that I know not what small resort was made to my brother commissioners, nor do I understand what is meant by the charge of endeavouring unduly to extend my enquiries as a commissioner; but if visits of civility from some of my constituents, the Canadian claimants, of whom, God knows, you have heard quite enough, be imputed as a fault, I must certainly plead guilty. Had I been inclined to become a Quixotic redresser of wrongs, I must have tilted with sawmills, for I was never applied to. As to interposing in the public matters of the province; to be sure, on occasion of one of those breaches of privilege which the one branch of the legislature is in the habit of committing on the other, I was applied to by a committee of the House of Assembly, in writing, to explain a matter of etiquette as practised at home, and I was indiscreet enough to answer the application to the best of my recollection. And

once in conversation (I forget who were present), in speaking of the manner in which the census is taken, I suggested that it would be improved were the numbers of the different religious sects discriminated in the returns. I can tax my memory with no other colonial treasons, unless indeed it may be accounted as such, that I borrowed an old unforwarded petition to the king, and produced it at the commissioners' board.

"With respect to paragraph No. 2, I wish his Excellency had been a little more explicit; for it is difficult to refute charges in which no specific case is adduced, nor accuser mentioned. If the official allegations against the commissioner's report are referred to, not one word that I have ever said or written on that subject can I retract. If any proceedings in the matter of the claims are referred to, I but acted on the information of my constituents, and you cannot fail to remember the incident of the private letter, which I confided to yourself, as well as the publication in the Gazette Extraordinary. In a word, I am not conscious of any want of disposition to do justice either to the motives or the measures of this government, nor of any want of fairness in argument; at all events *you* must know all my communications with the Colonial Office.

"With regard to paragraph No. 3, you will

find the letter in question in the inclosed Upper Canada Gazette, in which I have desired it to be published, with some observations explaining the circumstances under which it was written. You will see that I was trying to be civil, and from not approving of the virulence of the editor, confined myself to praising the freedom of discussion in the abstract. This letter, with another note ordering his paper for the Canada Company, and stating that Mr. Malcolm would pay him my subscription, was all that ever passed between us; and THIS is 'the confidence' which he has outraged! To my surprise, it appears from Sir Peregrine's expressions, that his Excellency imagines I have to complain of 'a breach of confidence,' and that I am disconcerted that my letters should have been produced to the public! Ordering the Colonial Advocate for the Canada Company was no particular patronage, as I desired Mr. Malcolm to order for their office, all the newspapers of these provinces.

"I am grieved to trouble you at so great a length concerning myself, but it would be unpleasant to me to know myself suspected by the authorities here, without having apprized you to my utmost, as to the nature of the suspicions, and the grounds which have caused them. It is now twenty years since I began to take an interest in

the prosperity of this province, and as the originator and organizer of the Canada Company, and the primary person by whose connexions the capital was procured, there is assurance enough to his Excellency that the peace and progress of the colony could have no enemy in me.

" To conclude; as I have done nothing which asks for pardon, said nothing which I can retract, nor written one word which I wish obliterated, I see no cause to square my conduct by other rules or maxims, than those which have placed me in my present trust; I am happy in having the assurance of his Excellency himself, that no impediment in the execution of it will arise from him; should therefore any such impediment unfortunately occur, I have a document in my possession which will perhaps serve as a clue to the source.

" I remain, dear sir,

" Very truly yours,

" JOHN GALT.

" To R. J. Wilmot Horton, Esq., M.P., &c., &c."

" N.B. The editor of the Gazette has not been able to find room for my article in to-day's publication, but the inclosed is a copy of what it will be."

CHAPTER IV.

Send copy of the letter to Mr. Horton to Sir P. Maitland.—Motive.—Appoint the Attorney General my adviser.—Proceed with my business.

CONCEIVING it possible that Mr. Horton might deem it expedient to notice to the Lieutenant Governor that the course of the proceedings towards me were made too much of, I sent him a copy of my letter to that gentleman, that he might be prepared for any observations which might be made to him. His own prohibition of reply left me no other mode of apprising him of my sentiments on the subject.

The letter inclosing mine to Mr. Horton is:

"Steamboat Hotel, 16th December, 1826.

"DEAR SIR,

"Having given the most attentive consideration to the explanations afforded in your Excellency's letter of the 14th, I cannot but regard the misconception of Major Hillier as a most fortunate circumstance in happening so early. I doubt not his misconception was in a great measure

owing to his participation in those impressions of which, but for the candour of your Excellency, I might have remained too long in ignorance.

"I am now persuaded that Mr. Wilmot Horton was aware of the misrepresentations under which I have been suffering in your good opinion, and as I feel that I owe him much, I have written to him fully on the subject: the inclosed is a copy of my letter. Had it pleased your Excellency to have furnished me with the names of those by whom I have been so traduced, my explanations would certainly have been more satisfactory, and I should have been better able to show how little I regard the calumnies beyond the reflection that they must have prevented me from enjoying the fair measure of esteem to which in this country I am entitled.

"I shall now proceed to the performance of my public duties, under the firm persuasion of receiving every facility which the Directors of the Canada Company anticipated I would obtain from your Excellency.

"I have the honour to be,
"Dear sir,
"Your Excellency's
"Most obedient, humble servant,
"JOHN GALT.

"To his Excellency, Sir P. Maitland, K.C.B., &c., &c."

Thus ended a most unpleasant affair, and verified the apprehensions which Dr. Strachan's letter had inspired; till the receipt of that document, I could not have imagined that either my principles or politics were matter of misrepresentation in the province, and I thought that if any thing was known of me personally, it would not have led to the suspicion that I would turn the influences of a great trust, held only for a limited time, to dealing in a small way with provincial discontents; or that when I was in bed, overcome with the lethargy of a strange disease, there could have been so much malice in possession of Sir Peregrine Maitland's ear as to represent me as attending the nocturnal conclaves of the discontented; for to that extent I have once understood were the imputations against me.

The personal question being disposed of, I proceeded with the business of my mission, and having seen the charter registered in the books of the Council, I proceeded to Lower Canada. I may as well, however, mention here, that I chose for my legal adviser the Attorney General, chiefly because in the controversy with the Commissioners, I thought he had shown superior talent, though it was then directed against myself; and I take this opportunity to bear testimony to his integrity and intelligence, even while I think he did not con-

sider me as an unfriended man in the midst of detractors.

Had I been informed of the names of those by whom I was calumniated*, it would have made me more cordial with others, but assured by the best authority how much I had been traduced, it made me distrustful of all, and to keep aloof from many who might have lightened the cares, which afterwards became intolerable. Having seen the charter of the Company registered at York, I proceeded for the same purpose to the lower province.

* A list has been procured, of my visiters, and I have no motive to conceal it. These were in my absence at the office, and the gentlemen who came to the general house, considered as much for the other commissioners as for me, viz. Major Hillier, a judge, the Solicitor General, the Chief Justice, the Attorney General, Mr. D. Boulton, Mr. George Hamilton, M.P.P., the Speaker, Mr. Rolph, and two gentlemen, the Inspector General, the Surveyor General, Col. Fitzgibbon, Judge Boulton, Capt. Brown, an officer of the Garrison, a gentleman, (I believe Dr. Baldwin,) the Hon. T. Dickson. The whole of these were visits of ceremony, Col. T. Clarke was often there, and John Brant the Indian chief dined with me one day at the Commissioner's mess. I never called at any private house without one of the Commissioners, except at the Inspector General's. Once I dined at Dr. Strachan's, I was formally asked twice, but felt myself too unwell to go. He also hospitably invited me to come to his house in the evening, but I was always obliged to go to bed. The Attorney General's was the only invitation I did not accept, for I was then very ill. I may mention here that my disease was not indulgently considered by my colleagues, until by opening my vest, like Coriolanus in the play, I shewed my skin encrusted thickly with an inflamed eruption: my face and hands being exposed to the air were clear of it.

CHAPTER V.

At Quebec.—Attentions from the Earl and Countess of Dalhousie.—Mention to his Lordship my reception in Upper Canada.—Business.—An amateur theatre.—Return to Upper Canada.

From Montreal we went to Quebec, where we arrived soon before the provincial Parliament met. Besides the business which I had to execute there for the Canada Company, I considered it my duty, having time by winter, to do as much as I could for the sufferers by the late war, and I mentioned to the Earl of Dalhousie my intention to canvass the opposition on the subject; making certain that the Government party would support my endeavours to procure indemnification. His Lordship considered it a very hopeless task, but agreed in opinion that every measure should be tried.

While at Quebec, I was greatly indebted to the Earl and Countess for particular attention, and I took an opportunity of stating to his Lordship in what manner I had been treated and regarded in Upper Canada, expressing my surprise that I who had never been in all my life a political character, should be supposed to turn politician in that

province; but there was no help for being so regarded. Misconception and misrepresentation were busy against me, and I had no alternative but to hope that the same conduct I had pursued at home would in the end prevail.

Seeing that I had established myself where a better understanding existed respecting me than in the Upper province, I set about my work, and as my time was necessarily limited, I had a great deal to do, but the month spent at Quebec was about the most varied and pleasant of my life. For when I had executed the essential business intrusted to me by the Canada Company, I laboured to get the claims adjusted, and certainly succeeded in obtaining a candid degree of attention from the Canadian party. A committee of the House of Assembly was appointed to investigate the claims, and the gentlemen of which it was composed requested me to draw up the Report myself for the House.

As it was necessary to conciliate the English and Government party in this proceeding, I did draw up the Report, and before showing it to any of the Canadian gentlemen to whom I was so much obliged, I submitted it to one of the Legislative Council, who made some verbal alterations on the draft which I still possess, and then I showed it to Lord Dalhousie. His Lordship was pleased to

think that more had been accomplished than he had expected, and the difficulty of getting it through the Lower House overcome.

The report was then given in to the committee, and passed the Lower House unanimously, but to my astonishment when it was submitted to the Legislative Council, where the Government party was strongest, it was thrown out.

The rejection took place after I had left Quebec, for my time there was necessarily limited; but the result was exceedingly distressing, nor can I say yet that its effects have faded from my mind. I can only think that if such rancour prevails between the English and French factions as to be so irreconcileable, it is not to be wondered at that the province should be so distracted. In this particular case the French party acted in the best spirit, and I can only testify to their good will *.

In other respects my residence at Quebec was extremely agreeable, no bound was set to the hospitality of the gentlemen to whom I was made known, and though I had much to do, I had leisure, from the rigour of the weather, for amusement. Besides constant private parties, an ama-

* Dr. Dunlop was with me, and performed a highland chieftain in the farce,—to those who know his grotesque manner I need not say how; the rest of the world cannot conceive it. Drolling on my court to the opposition, he used to call the meetings "Devonshire House doings."

teur theatre was got up, and I wrote a farce for it, in which the peculiarities of the inhabitants were caricatured. It was not however all mine; no less than thirty-three contributors gave jokes and hints to the composition. It was admirably well performed, as the parts were written for the actors, and some of them outlined by themselves. Their Excellencies came to the performance in state, and the receipts, in addition to giving fifty pounds to the Emigrant Society of the town, left a considerable balance to be appropriated for the expenses of fitting up the theatre. Indeed, the whole affair gave a sort of stimulus to the amusements of the time, and I must say, if Quebec did not then enjoy a merry season, it must be a joyous place.

Mr. W—— returned to England before the festivities commenced, and then intended to return as a settler to the Upper province, but he married when he got home, and the intention was abandoned.

Connected with the dramatic entertainment, an amusing occurrence took place. Before the farce was distributed among those who were to perform the parts, we had a nocturnal sederunt with whiskey punch in the castle of St. Louis to read the play, and it happened that in coming from the Hon. Captain Maul's room, the gentleman who

was to perform the part of a Glasgow merchant, took the farce in his pocket. The ground was covered with snow, and the air frosty, which caused him to stumble and lose the manuscript, by which event there was every probability that an end would be put to our anticipated entertainment. The farce, however, was found in the street, by some one going along.

After the performance, we had a jovial dinner of an agricultural society at some distance from the town, and as I had prolonged my stay to the last minute, I was obliged after dinner to travel in a sleigh by moonlight over the snow all night, on my return to Montreal.

That visit to Quebec was, as the Scotch say, but "a glaik" on the sombre hue of a varied life, in which the shade has ever most prevailed.

CHAPTER VI.

Inquiries respecting the climate of Lower Canada.—Vegetation under the snow.—Another local phenomenon.—Floating ice in the river.—Cross the river.

While at Quebec I considered it a duty incumbent on me to obtain some information respecting the climate, the encouragement of emigration being so essential to my trust. It seemed extraordinary that it should be so much colder than that of Europe in the same latitudes, and I thought only a local cause could account for the difference, but my inquiries were not satisfactorily answered; a curious fact, however, was mentioned deserving of investigation, and which goes far to prove that the rigor of the Canadian climate will probably abate in time, as the country becomes better settled.

My informant was an intelligent old gentleman, to whom I was inclined to give implicit credit; he said, that in the course of many years he had observed that the heat of the earth hollowed or coved the snow, next to the ground, in so much that vegetation commenced long before there was

any appearance of the winter departing, and mentioned particularly, that on one St. Patrick's day, when the landscape was covered with snow, he saw a number of Irish children digging under it to gather shamrocks for the festival.

From this observation I am disposed to infer, that the temperature of the earth there is none inferior to that of Europe, and that we must look for the cause of the extreme coldness of the air to something above ground; what that may be I do not pretend to explain, but when it is considered that so much of the country is covered with wood, of which the wind stirs the branches as so many fanners, it seems not improbable that as the woods are cleared away, the climate will become milder.

Another local phenomenon deserves to be examined, and when it is considered how much man has attained the mastery of winds and currents by steam navigation, it does not seem a far fetched notion to imagine that the time is not distant when the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, shall be rendered navigable all the winter. I do not undertake to say how this may be done, but it is quite manifest that although the river is encumbered with floes of ice, it is nevertheless always open to the ocean, and art should be able to supply the means of rendering the navigation so too.

It ought to be observed, that the floating ice in

the channel must have naturally an effect in lessening the commotion of the water when the winds are unbridled, and that by the comparative calm in consequence, the navigation by steam may be rendered proportionably easy. The most obvious mode of correcting the impediment is, no doubt, by employing tugs to take down vessels destined to sail in the Atlantic; but then no species of tug has yet been invented that is not liable to become embarrassed in the ice, owing to the primitive character and situation of the paddle wheels. It would certainly be worth while to invent an improvement in the situation of the paddle wheels, to overcome the imperfection alluded to. But although it is admitted that the waters of the St. Lawrence are always free to the sea, it is as generally conceived that the navigation of them is interrupted during the winter.

This is no place to enlarge upon the subject, but while the fact is not disputed, that the tidal currents of the St. Lawrence are open, there should be no hinderance to judicious art, in attempting to overcome what is deemed at present an insurmountable obstacle.

I was led to make these reflections by crossing the river to Point-Levi, when it was full of floes and sheets of ice. The reader will recollect, when I mentioned my excursion across the Danube to

the Russian camp, at Widdin, I abstained from giving any description of the passage, because I had in reserve an account of crossing, in similar circumstances, the more majestic St. Lawrence.

The navigation of the Danube was in itself sufficiently appalling, but the pieces of ice, though they crashed like a continuous peal of thunder, were not large, and one boatman could steer amidst them without difficulty; mine, by his calmness, seemed to think without danger, but, I frankly confess, the scene was to me terrific: on the St. Lawrence it was sublime.

The late Sir John Caldwell had ordered his barge to be manned for the occasion; we had six boatmen, and went on board on the shore under the castle of St. Louis. This feat, though frequently undertaken, called for all the presence of mind that a stranger could command. We lay at full length in the bottom of the boat, which was launched down a steep inclined plane of ice by the boatmen into the water, and in the course of a few seconds the struggle with the ice in the river commenced. When a large sheet was encountered, the boatmen leapt out upon it and shuttled as it were the boat across, relaunching it again into the water. Sometimes we met an extensive floe of broken pieces, which surrounded us on all sides, but the boatmen, none daunted, leapt out

again and dragged the boat through the floe themselves, plunging amidst the floating masses. The passage, as it may be imagined, was tedious, and any thing but pleasant.

When we reached the Point-Levi shore, where the ice was fixed to the ground, it was some time before we could discover a fit landing place, for at the time the tide was low, and the ice stood like a cliff wherever we attempted to get on shore.

Leaving the boat, we embarked in a sleigh, which Sir John Caldwell had provided, and drove to see the falls of the river Chaudiere, where he was constructing a dam for his mills. The work would in this country have been suspended, on account of the rigor of the season, for the thermometer was then several degrees below zero, but the workmen seemed undeterred in their tasks by the cold, as they were however obliged to work with iron crows, they all had on gloves made of skins, without fingers.

After viewing the falls and the dam, we returned to Point-Levi, and there re-embarked for Quebec, but as it was then ebb water, we were carried by the ice and current several miles below the landing place, and had for some time no prospect of reaching it that night. The sun was setting, and the whole surface of the river was covered with sheets and floes. The scene, however, was

extraordinarily brilliant, and by drawing our attention to several points at the same time, lessened our apprehensions, for the ice on the shore extended as far as the eye could reach, and here and there the setting sun kindled a crystalline pinnacle with inconceivable splendour. Soon after, we reached the shore, but considerably below the landing place.

To my companion the excursion did not seem, from custom, to be very perilous, but to me it was truly wild; nor were my feelings comforted by observing several boats in the same circumstances as ourselves, though the boatmen were cheerlily singing and seemed altogether unconscious of danger.

CHAPTER VII.

A project.—Means of effecting it.—The turning of the river St. Lawrence.—Motives for the work.

In the course of my return from Quebec to York in Upper Canada, nothing remarkably interesting occurred; but in sitting wrapt in furs in the sleigh, I had leisure seriously to consider a suggestion which Dr. Dunlop had made to me respecting the practicability of rendering the Petite Nation river navigable for boats, and I authorized a surveyor to run the levels between the waters of it and the St. Lawrence.

As in all cases when I can do nothing but think my imagination is apt "to make herself wings and fly away", and the doctor's thought became a subject of cogitation. Assuming, therefore, to myself that the level of the Petite Nation would be found lower than the St. Lawrence, I constructed a grand scheme. "Cyrus", said I in soliloquy, "turned aside the Euphrates at Babylon, and

"'What man dare I dare.'

I am a bigger, if not so great a man as the Per-

sian king, and may I not turn the mighty St. Lawrence as he did the Euphrates, and by a canal, of which the Petite Nation shall be the course, lead it into the Ottawa, especially now when the Granville canal has opened the navigation of that other stupendous stream ?"

At this time it was spoken of as a project, to overcome the rapids of the St. Lawrence, and to render the lakes open to schooner navigation from the sea,—that a chain of canals should be excavated on the banks of the river,—a plan actually now proposed. In the reverie which Dr. Dunlop's idea suggested, this scheme was necessarily set aside, and a far better, of course, and cheaper notion contemplated ; it is however only fair and just to suppose the other preferable.

From the report afterwards transmitted to me by the surveyor, it would seem that this is not altogether the case ; for although it may be better than the doctor's scheme of damming the Petite Nation, it is prodigiously inferior to that of my Babylonian dream.

By the report, my notion received confirmation ; but it is to be observed, that as I was never on the spot myself, I can only speak from the opinion of others.

The surveyor found that below the town of Prescot, at the bottom of the lake-navigation, a

canal might very easily be cut, by which a communication would be effected with the Petite Nation river, and that the level was full seven feet under that of the St. Lawrence. He speaks, indeed, of the ease with which a junction may be made, in a strain which gives, whatever may be the truth, a very laudable conception of his piety.

After I received his encouraging report I spoke to two or three friends to have the practicability of the union scientifically examined, and stated that the canal would probaby require twenty-five thousand pounds, (I was informed only six or eight thousand,) which I proposed to raise in shares by a company, if the examination verified the surveyor's report.

My object in this business was undoubtedly founded on the public utility of the scheme, but I was actuated by another motive.

It was essential to the prosperity of the Canada Company to make the country better known, and to hold out inducements to emigrants to come from the mother country as settlers. The assurance of finding employment on their arrival seemed to me the most feasible course to attain this end, and accordingly, I trusted when the Canal Company would be formed, and the shares made payable by instalments, I might be able to induce the Directors of the Canada Company to advance the necessary money,

at six per cent. interest, taking the Canal for security.

I did not, however, think of calling for much actual advance, intending only to set a price on certain lots of land, and to take labour on the canal in payment; but circumstances arose which prevented me from carrying the design into effect, and the reverie of turning the superb St. Lawrence "vanished into thin air."

In thus relating the objects of my thoughts in returning to the Upper province, I should state that I was not at all times so absorbed with them as not to remark the actual condition of the country through which I was passing.

The spring had shown no symptoms to return in Lower Canada, but as soon as we crossed the Ottawa, the snow was evidently melting in the Upper province, and it was gratifying to observe everywhere, that improvement was indisputably active. Perhaps my trusts made me more observant of this phenomenon than most people, but independently of these, it admitted of no doubt, that the country was progressing. This spectacle, at all times gratifying, was an assurance to me that in urging my friends to interest themselves in the Canada Company, I had not formed either an erroneous estimate of the capabilities of the country, or of the disposition of the inhabitants.

The pleasure of the hope of prosperity to the scheme was damped by the consideration that I was not provided with any adequate assistance, but left to pick up what clerks I could find unemployed to carry on the business. It is not for me to say that in this the directors acted in ignorance of the wild country in which the operations of the Company were to be conducted; I believe they were actuated by a desire to conciliate their proprietory, but their proprietory knew as little of the case as they did themselves. Time however, and experience, has improved the knowledge of both, but I think the directors are actuated by motives of economy which might justify the Government to complain of the short coming in the inducements which led to the sale of the reserves.

I state this from experience, knowing the views on which the Company was formed. More than twenty years, as these memoirs testify, I have paid attention to the best mode of settling the country. And my principle was to consider the land as a raw material to be manufactured by an outlay of more capital. On this point I differ, certainly, from the directors of the Canada Company, nor can I conceive that the Government had any inducement for selling the land to a Company if the improvements were to be effected, not by that Company, but by the settlers individually.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cause of my soliciting the superintendency.—My situation.—Accommodations.—Invidious remark.—Colonization.—My system.—Plan of buildings.

IMMEDIATELY on reaching York I commenced the duties of my mission, the objects of which were limited to inquiry, and for the accomplishment of these, eight months were allowed; but in consequence of finding between two and three hundred offers to purchase "lots" of land awaiting investigation, I solicited an extension of the time, as my duties were thus enlarged, and the operose task of establishing a system and routine for the future management of the Company's affairs necessarily imposed. The laborious and responsible details of the latter tasks were not contemplated when I left England, but as they were agreeable to me, it was no hardship, rather a pleasure to undertake them, confident in the end that they would be adequately remunerated in a pecuniary respect.

But I had soon cause to experience the evil of that determination of the court of Directors, by which I was denied the assistance of any person

with me from London in whom I could have confidence.

While engaged with what may be called the planning of preliminary arrangements, this was not felt, but when official details required attention I suffered more than can be described. Not, however, to molest the reader with any unnecessary account of unestimated perplexities, I shall merely state that it was not, I apprehend, a very common case, for a Company, with a million of capital, to trust such a multifarious business, fraught with anxieties, to an unrecommended individual. I ought however to add, that although so fully apprised of the prejudices by which I was environed, I experienced no hindrance in my business from them, nor had any other reason to deplore for a long time their existence, than the knowledge of the fact, as communicated in the letters of Archdeacon Strachan and the correspondence of Sir Peregrine Maitland.

In a small, new town accommodations were not easily found, but I obtained at last a room of about ten feet square for an office, for which I paid a dollar a week; and as in a colony there is never any lack of persons in quest of employment, I soon found a clerk, whom I retained as long as possible. I was obliged in the mean time to stay at a tavern myself.

The reader is probably acquainted with the manner of living in the American hotels, but without experience he can have no right notion of what in those days was the condition of the best tavern in York. It was a mean, two-story house, and, being constructed of wood, every noise in it resounded from roof to foundation. The landlord, however, did all in his power to mitigate the afflictions with which such a domicile was quaking to one accustomed to quiet; but my habits were invidiously considered, and it did not require three eyes to perceive, that a natural disposition to sequestration was ascribed to pride, undervaluing those among whom it was my destiny to sojourn *. Accustomed to a late dinner hour, "the feeding time" of the country did not suit me, and accordingly, instead of dining at the "ordinary at two o'clock," I dined by myself in the evening. Had I gone to the public table at first, and afterwards abstained, there might have been some reason to accuse me of pride, even though the company had not been very promiscuous, but as my servant, to whom such matters were ever left, regulated the hours with the house, I was never taught to think

* I have just received a biographical sketch of me published at York, drawn up in a friendly spirit, but it speaks of me as playing "Captain Grand," and looking down on the inhabitants of Upper Canada. The fact is, I never thought about them, unless to notice some ludicrous peculiarity of individuals.

there was anything peculiar in my abstraction, until I became better acquainted with the manners of the province.

As soon as the indispensible domestic and official arrangements were made, I began my work of colonization, by clearing the ground, or to speak without metaphor, by obtaining information respecting the country; and no great space of time was requisite to convince me that the only system existing in the province was that which the original poverty of individual settlers had forced them to adopt. As their condition improved, their expedients were also no doubt mended; but such a thing as proceeding by a general rule, that embodied and directed collective efforts, had no existence.

My visits to the land offices of the United States, the companies and private persons, had enabled me, by seeing their various modes of management, to perceive at once which system among them was the best, and what was susceptible of improvement; and I endeavoured in consequence to institute one for the Canada Company that might work as well as any of them. I hope in presuming to say so much, it will not from the frankness which pervades this book be imagined that I claim any particular merit.

Nothing in practice seems more simple than an

established routine; but like the motions of a machine, it requires some previous ingenuity to put the wheels together in such a manner as to produce the effect desired without jarring.

In avoiding what seemed to me defects in the American systems, I necessarily formed a new one, which I must believe had some advantages, since my successors have adhered to it, though their operations are on a smaller scale. One branch of it they have not even as yet had occasion to consider, namely, to excite such attention to the lands of the Company as would attract emigrants to prefer Upper Canada, though the other American provinces lay nearer to their homes;—an object with me primary; and I imagined upon theoretic principles, that to give employment to pauper emigrants ought to be the first step, before a better class could be allured to come. Accordingly, having received permission to attempt a settlement, I set about it comprehensively.

I directed an inspection by qualified persons of a block or tract of upwards of forty thousand acres of the Company's purchase, for the purpose of finding within it an eligible situation for a town. All reports made to me agreed in recommending the spot where Guelph now stands, and it was fixed upon; but as it was too early in the year to undertake field operations, and the immigrant

season had not commenced. I went to New York to make some necessary arrangements. In this business I was most actively assisted by the British consul, indeed, to such a degree, that I could not but see he had a motive in his alacrity, so I appointed his eldest son, subject to the approval of the court of Directors, agent at New York for the Company, in order to obtain the father's services.

When the causes which induced me to visit New York were adjusted, I returned to Upper Canada, and gave orders that operations should commence on St. George's Day, the 23rd of April. This was not without design; I was well aware of the boding effect of a little solemnity on the minds of most men, and especially of the unlettered, such as the first class of settlers were likely to be, at eras which betokened destiny, like the launching of a vessel, or the birth of an enterprize, of which a horoscope might be cast.

The founding of a town was certainly one of these, and accordingly I appointed a national holiday for the ceremony, which secretly I was determined should be so celebrated as to be held in remembrance, and yet so conducted as to be only apparently accidentally impressive.

In the meantime, as I imagined it would not be difficult to persuade the Directors to erect a cen-

tral office for the Company there, and as a tavern and hotel were indispensible, I set about procuring plans.

Having myself a kind of amateur taste in architectural drawing, and being in consequence, from the period of my travels, led to adopt as a rule in art, that the style of a building should always indicate and be appropriate to its purpose, I thought that the constructing of a city afforded an opportunity to edify posterity in this matter. Accordingly I undertook myself to draw the most problematic design of the office, and gave a house-carpenter instructions to make a plan and elevation for a tavern, delivering to him, like a Sir Oracle, my ideas as to the fitness of indicating, by the appearance of the building, the particular uses to which it was destined. My drawing was of course very classical, but his "beat all," as the Yankees say, "to immortal smash." It represented a two-story common-place house, with a pediment; but on every corner and cornice, "coin and vantage," were rows of glasses, bottles, punch-bowls, and wine-decanters! Such an exhibition as did not require a man to be a god to tell it was an inn. In short, no rule was ever more unequivocally illustrated, and cannot even yet be thought of with sobriety.

CHAPTER IX.

The founding of Guelph.

On the 22nd of April, the day previous to the time appointed for laying the foundations of my projected polis, I went to Galt, a town situated on the banks of the Grand river, which my friend the Honourable William Dixon, in whose township it is situated, named after me long before the Canada Company was imagined; it was arrived at the maturity of having a post-office before I heard of its existence. There I met by appointment at Mr. Dickson's, Dr. Dunlop *, who held a roving commission in the Canada Company, and was informed that the requisite woodmen were assembled.

Next morning we walked after breakfast towards the site which had been selected. The distance was about eighteen miles from Galt, half of it in the forest, but till we came near the end of the

* Better known as The Tiger, from his combats with these animals in clearing the Saugar island in the eastern Ganges: author of Sketches of Canada, by a Backwoodsman.

road no accident happened. Scarcely, however, had we entered the bush, as the woods are called, when the doctor found he had lost the way. I was excessively angry, for such an accident is no trifle in the woods; but after "wandering up and down" like the two babes, with not even the comfort of a blackberry, the heavens frowning and the surrounding forest sullenly still, we discovered a hut, and "tirling at the pin," entered and found it inhabited by a Dutch shoemaker. We made him understand our lost condition, and induced him to set us on the right path. He had been in the French army, and had, after the peace, emigrated to the United States; thence he had come into Upper Canada, where he bought a lot of land, which, after he had made some betterments, he exchanged for the location in the woods, or as he said himself, "Je swapé" the first land for the lot on which he was now settled.

With his assistance we reached the skirts of the wild to which we were going, and were informed in the cabin of a squatter * that all our men had gone forward. By this time it began to rain, but undeterred by that circumstance, we resumed our journey in the pathless wood. About sunset,

* A squatter is a settler who takes possession of land without purchase or license. This was also a Dutchman, and he had made his "pitch" on the Company's land.

dripping wet, we arrived near the spot we were in quest of, a shanty, which an Indian, who had committed murder, had raised as a refuge for himself.

It may be proper to mention here, that a shanty is a temporary shed formed of the branches of trees; such a tabernacle as Bessy Bell and Mary Gray, according to the old Scottish ballad, retired to during the prevalence of a pestilence.

> "Bessy Bell and Mary Gray,
> They were twa bonny lasses,
> They bigget a bower on yon burn brae
> And theekit it o'er wi' rashes."

We found the men, under the orders of Mr. Prior, whom I had employed for the Company, kindling a roaring fire, and after endeavouring to dry ourselves, and having recourse to the store-basket, I proposed to go to the spot chosen for the town. By this time the sun was set, and Dr. Dunlop, with his characteristic drollery, having doffed his wet garb, and dressed himself Indian fashion, in blankets, we proceeded with Mr. Prior, attended by two woodmen with their axes.

It was consistent with my plan to invest our ceremony with a little mystery, the better to make it be remembered. So intimating that the main body of the men were not to come, we walked to the brow of the neighbouring rising ground, and Mr. Prior having shewn the site selected for the

town, a large maple tree was chosen; on which, taking an axe from one of the woodmen, I struck the first stroke. To me at least the moment was impressive,—and the silence of the woods, that echoed to the sound, was as the sigh of the solemn genius of the wilderness departing for ever.

The doctor followed me, then, if I recollect correctly, Mr. Prior, and the woodmen finished the work. The tree fell with a crash of accumulating thunder, as if ancient Nature were alarmed at the entrance of social man into her innocent solitudes with his sorrows, his follies, and his crimes.

I do not suppose that the sublimity of the occasion was unfelt by the others, for I noticed that after the tree fell, there was a funereal pause, as when the coffin is lowered into the grave; it was, however, of short duration, for the doctor pulled a flask of whisky from his bosom, and we drank prosperity to the City of Guelph.

The name was chosen in compliment to the royal family, both because I thought it auspicious in itself, and because I could not recollect that it had ever been before used in all the king's dominions.

After the solemnity, for though the ceremony was simple, it may be so denominated, we returned to the shanty, and the rain, which had been sus-

pended during the performance, began again to pour.

It may appear ludicrous to many readers, that I look on this incident with gravity, but in truth I am very serious; for although Guelph is not so situated as ever to become celebrated for foreign commerce, the location possesses many advantages independent of being situated on a tongue of land surrounded by a clear and rapid stream. It will be seen by the map of the province, that it stands almost in the centre of the table-land, which separates four of the great lakes, namely, Ontario, Simcoe, Huron, and Erie, and though its own river, the Speed, as I named it, is not large, yet at the town it receives the Eramosa, and at a short distance flows into the Grand River, which may be said to be navigable from the bridge of Galt to lake Erie, a distance of nearly eighty miles. By the Welland canal the navigation is continued to lake Ontario, thence by the Rideau canal to the Grand Ottawa, which flows into the St. Lawrence, and by the Lachine canal it communicates with Montreal and thence to the ocean, advantages which few inland towns in the whole world can boast of at such a distance from the sea.

In planning the city, for I will still dignify it by that title, though applied at first in derision, I had,

like the lawyers in establishing their fees, an eye to futurity in the magnitude of the parts. A beautiful central hill was reserved for the Catholics, in compliment to my friend, Bishop Macdonell, for his advice in the formation of the Company; the centre of a rising ground, destined to be hereafter a square, was appropriated to the Episcopal church for Archdeacon Strachan; and another rising ground was reserved for the Presbyterians. The Catholic church is building, also the Presbyterian, and I believe the foundations of the Episcopalian are laid.

Education is a consideration so important to a community that it obtained my earliest attention, and accordingly in planning the town, I stipulated that the half of the price of the building sites should be appropriated to endow a school, undertaking that the Company, in the first instance, should sustain the expense of the building, and be gradually repaid by the sale of the town lots. The school-house was thus among the first buildings undertaken to draw settlers.

The works and the roads soon drew from all parts a greater influx of inhabitants than was expected, insomuch that the rise of the town far surpassed my hopes. The population now exceeds, I am informed, a thousand souls; mills projected have been built, a respectable bridge constructed, seve-

ral taverns and a ball-room, and as a mark of the improved society, there are, I have heard, several harps and piano-fortes in the town. It was with me matter of design to give a superior character to the place, and therefore, although the first settlers were not of that rank of life to make such things important, I encouraged dances and public associations among them. But I am anticipating that which ought to be deferred, as I shall have occasion to speak of these sort of things hereafter, for as yet, where the town is now spreading, all was then a wilderness, and nothing would seem so romantic as the building of such a Tadmore in the desert. The site is between the Company's detached lots, and her tracts, and Huron territory, and the seventh part of all the townships around belong to her.

Before the foundations of the town were laid, land was valued by the magistrates in quarter sessions at 1*s.* 3*d.* per acre, and the settled townships around at three-fourths of a dollar; when I left the place the lowest rate of land sold was 15*s.*, and the price in the neighbouring townships was estimated at 10*s.*

Nearly, if not all the land in the township of Guelph is now sold, and all the houses which I ordered to be constructed, have also been at prime cost.

It was not, certainly, my plan to sell the lands around so rapidly, nor do I think it was judicious, for the value was increasing as the country around became settled. But Guelph, to resume a little more freedom, was, like all cities fated with a high destiny, the cause of quarrels; Romulus slew his brother for hopping over the walls of Rome, and although the history of my city is not likely to be honoured by warlike events, it yet gave rise to a controversy as worthy of commemoration, for from the day that I announced the birth of this metropolis to the directors of the Canada Company, my troubles and vexations began, and were accumulated on my unsheltered head till they could be no longer endured.

CHAPTER X.

Plan of taking payments in produce.—Apply for a valuable grant of land to the government, and obtain it.

When I had effectually set the operations for the Canada Company a going at Guelph, I returned to York, and took into consideration a step to which the Company was pledged to the public and the government.

Among the inducements held out to obtain the reserves at a moderate price, was the vast advantages which would arise to the province from having an opulent Company interested in promoting its improvement. One of the most obvious modes of accomplishing this was, as it appeared to me, to receive payments in produce, and to undertake the sale of it on consignment. By an arrangement contemplated, in the event of the directors agreeing to this, I conceived that the commissions on the consignments of wheat would defray all the official expenses, and a stimulus would be given to the prosperity of the province, which would soon compensate the country for all the profit that might be drawn from it in consequence of the

Company's speculation. Accordingly, having settled a plan for carrying the business into effect, and ascertained what would be the most convenient points to have receiving houses established, I endeavoured to find whether it would be necessary to erect stores or to rent them.

In my enquiries I found that by far the most eligible situation for the purpose of erecting a central store was on the banks of a canal, which the government was excavating through a narrow neck of land, to open Burlington Bay into lake Ontario. It occurred to me, when my attention was drawn to this situation, that the land would be soon occupied, and although still in the hands of the government, would not be allowed to remain long so.

I therefore determined to make an application for a grant to the Company of this valuable and most eligible site. The business admitting of no delay, I made the solicitation for the grant, and explained in my letter the purpose for which it was solicited, namely, to erect stores, &c., for the reception of produce.

In sending in this application, it being necessary to transmit it by the hands of the governor's secretary, I sent it to Major Hillier, with the following private letter to himself.

"York, 3d May, 1827.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Inclosed is an official application to the Lieutenant-governor for a portion of the Burlington Bay Peninsula. I have gone a little more into the particulars of my object than perhaps was necessary; but I was desirous that his Excellency should have in the application the motive by which I was actuated in making it; for this special reason,—I should be exceedingly glad to have it in my power to say, that the three or four acres would be *given* to the Company, for I do assure you that various circumstances have made many connected with the Company not at all satisfied with the opposition which it is conceived has been shewn towards the general interests of the incorporation, as it now is, from influential persons in this province. I have myself, since the question of the clergy reserves was quieted by the new contract, seen no cause whatever to be of that opinion, and I have availed myself of every occasion to speak to the Directors of the satisfaction which I enjoy in reference to the few inconsiderable points that I have had occasion to trouble the government with. Considering the Company's stake in this country, one seventh at least of the whole real property, it is naturally expected that a frank,

confidential communication should take place with the Directors, who though not possessed of any political power here have yet some at home, and rumours have reached some of them, to which I might have been so placed as to have applied a contradiction. The transactions in the stock of the Company have practically been very detrimental to many, and it has actually fallen, partly in consequence to what I allude, to a discount. For myself, it will probably surprise his Excellency to hear I have no interest in the matter.

" I do not know if it is of any consequence to apprise his Excellency that I am likely to remain in the country in a still more *anomalous* situation * than that of my present mission. In asking to be so permitted, you may tell his Excellency, that among other motives, I was desirous of practically

* This is said in allusion to the reason which had been given to me, to think I was invidiously regarded in the province, from Dr. Strachan's letter, to the obvious inference deducible from my early correspondence with Sir P. Maitland, and to the light in which I was at first represented by some of the government papers. It is but proper to mention, however, that upon my requesting the note of thanks for M'Kenzie's file of newspapers to be published, an ample apology was made in the papers for the erroneous construction put upon the transaction. My situation, however, was very comfortless, and nothing would have kept me in the province after my mission was closed, but the conviction that I should be able to contradict by my conduct the charges and insinuations. I wrote this letter not only to shew how satisfied I was in one respect with my treatment, but also to intimate how deeply I felt the injustice of the unfounded prejudice against me.

contradicting falsehoods at variance with the uniform tenour of my whole life—falsehoods, the invention of which only served to prove the ignorance of the inventors as to the character of an individual, who from his very boyhood has neither been obscure nor in his sentiments equivocal.

"Yours faithfully,

"JOHN GALT."

"Major Hillier."

Unquestionably I had every reason to be satisfied with the facilities which the local government could afford to whatever I applied for; nor did I then think that this was in consequence of making no unreasonable request; but however that may be, all were promptly attended to and readily granted.

The letter was sent in to the government office, and the grant was made without delay. I think it was for three acres—much the most valuable spot in the whole province. It fronted the canal; on the right it had Burlington Bay, and on the left lake Ontario, a more convenient spot for any commercial purpose in a new country could not be chosen.

It gave me unspeakable pleasure to have obtained for the Company so great a boon, and I expressed to the Directors my satisfaction at the liberal

treatment of the government; it was not necessary to be more particular.

I entreat the reader to notice this circumstance, and to remember particularly the course pursued and the object attained; but above all, to bear in mind the allusion to the calumnies which formed the burthen of Sir Peregrine Maitland's correspondence on my arrival, and of the existence of them which I had been made previously aware of by Archdeacon Strachan's letter from Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XI.

Voyage on Lake Huron.

HAVING matured the plan for receiving consignments of produce, and transmitted to the directors in London the necessary outline, I resolved upon such an inspection of the Company's Huron tract as was conceived to be necessary before the location could be finally determined. In consequence Dr. Dunlop, who was instructed to superintend this undertaking, assembled at Galt fit persons and surveyors to accompany him into the forest. And as foreseen, when it was proposed to take the tract as a substitute for the clergy reserves, I went forward from York to Penetanguishine, to embark there in a navy vessel which had orders to proceed with me, to explore that part of the coast of Lake Huron between Cabot's Head on the north, and the river Aux Sables on the south; but as this voyage of discovery was episodical to my other operations, I have drawn up a separate account of the excursion, and will insert it here, as affording in itself a complete narrative:

VOYAGE ON LAKE HURON.

I left York, the capital of Upper Canada, to explore that part of the coast between Cabot's Head and the river Aux Sables, in order to discover if possible a harbour, and to meet at the mouth of one of the rivers a numerous party that had been previously sent from the town of Galt to inspect an unknown region, of which one million of acres were assigned in a tract to the Canada Company. I took the route by Younge Street, a road which leads in a direct line to lake Simcoe, and halted for the night at a town not far from where on the right, Newmarket is situated. The appearance of the country is not very prepossessing, but the views are more picturesque than many more celebrated places, for on the upland you command a distant prospect of Lake Ontario, and though the forest predominates, the surface is various and undulated.

In the neighbourhood of Newmarket the fields are tolerably well cleared, but I was led to conclude that the soil was not fertile, as many of them were in grass and full of undecayed stumps. This apparent negligence, however, might be owing to other causes. The village itself is pleasantly situated, and an air of older settlement is observable about it than in many parts of the province of greater antiquity, if such a term may be applied

to any thing of British origin in America ; but as the evening was closing before we reached our inn I must be understood here as speaking very cursorily of the country.

Next morning we went forward to a place on the Holland river, called Holland's landing, an open space which the Indians and fur traders were in the habit of frequenting. It presented to me something of a Scottish aspect in the style of the cottages, but instead of mountains the environs were covered with trees. We embarked at this place.

After descending the river we steered across Lake Simcoe, the boatmen during the time amused us in the stillness of the evening with those French airs which Moore has rendered so popular by his Canadian boat songs. At a dark, if not a late hour, we reached a house frequented by the Indian traders, where we stayed the remainder of the night : our reception was very primitive, but the civility of the inmates did much to reconcile us to the best they could give. In point of accommodation it reminded me of a night spent long ago in Greece, on the shores of the gulph of Eubœa, but the comparison, though not much, was in favour of the Grecian cottage.

By dawn of day, we were informed that the boatmen were ready, and immediately embarked : a vapour lay on the tops of the trees, and circum-

scribed our view, shewing enough, however, to remind us that we were in a far country. The mist prevented me from seeing the outline of the adjacent land, but the situation of the house reminded me of Rhuardinnan at the foot of Ben-Lomond in Scotland.

Our progress over the still lake in a fresh and serene morning, was delightful; not a breath ruffled the face of the waters, and all around us "looked tranquillity." In this little voyage I remember an incident which at the time impressed me with a curious emotion. A vast moth as big as a bird flew over the boat in perfect silence, its course and appearance was not like any "creature of the element," and my imagination exalted it into an imp of darkness flying homeward.

We then turned to the coast of Innesfail, on which I had a grant of land, but as we had a long voyage and journey before us, we only touched there to speak to a settler who had hailed us as we passed. From him I learnt that several clearances, as the cutting down of the timber is called, were then afoot, and a few settlers had recently arrived.

Having conversed with him some time we steered for Kempenfelt Bay, and had another sight that could only be met with in America, a squaw with several Indian children, crossing the lake in a canoe steered by a negro! My imagination surely was

given to dark fancies, for I could not help comparing the transit of this party in that gray and silent morning, with something of another, I will not say, a "better world."

We ascended Kempenfelt Bay, or more properly Gulph, nearly to the head, where we met horses with our luggage, which had come through the forest by a tract recently opened, a great convenience in summer; in winter the lake is frozen, and travellers pass on the ice.

From the spot where we disembarked, I proceeded along a road which was opened by a party during the late war under the command of Dr. Dunlop, whom I was to meet on Lake Huron, but the forest glade was nearly again impassable by the new vegetation, and we were obliged to travel it in single file.

About half way to Penetanguishine we were compelled by the weather to take shelter in a farm-house, and a thunder-storm coming on obliged us to remain all night. The house itself was not inferior to a common Scottish cottage, but it was rendered odious by the landlady, who was all the time we stayed, "drunk as a sow, Huncamunca."

Next day we proceeded to the military station and dockyard of Penetanguishine by a path through the woods, which, to the honour of the late Mr. Wilberforce, bears his name. Along it are settled several

negro families. As I walked part of the way, I went into a cottage pleasantly situated on a rising ground, and found it inhabited by a crow-like flock of negro children; the mother was busy with them, and the father, a good-natured looking fellow, told me that they were very comfortable, but had not yet made any great progress in clearing the land, as his children were still too young to assist.

We reached Penetanguishine, the remotest and most inland dockyard that owns obedience to the "meteor flag of England", where, by orders of the Admiralty, His Majesty's gun-boat the Bee was placed at my disposal. By the by, the letter from the Admiralty was a curious specimen of the geographical knowledge which then prevailed there, inasmuch as it mentioned that the vessel was to go with me on Lake Huron, in *Lower* Canada.

In the village of Penetanguishine there is no tavern; we were therefore obliged to billet ourselves on the officer stationed there, of whose hospitality and endeavour to make the time pass agreeably till he had the Bee ready for the lake, I shall ever retain a pleasant remembrance.

The next day we went to fish in Gloucester Bay, and anchored the boat on a small rocky island, but as fishing is a tedious occupation to me, the less said about it the better. Isaac Walton,

for all he writes so prettily, must have been a very sleepy-headed animal. We caught, however, a few black bass, and returned to the dockyard to dinner.

In the evening we walked about the environs, and saw where future fortifications were marked out.

The following day, though the wind was not very fair, we embarked on board the Bee, and had a backwards and forwards sailing and tacking in Gloucester Bay, not disagreeable to those who like such kind of pastime. In the evening a violent storm obliged Captain Douglas to cast anchor in a small sheltered bay of an island. It was no doubt as wild as that of Robinson Crusoe. We lighted a fire on the shore, and regaled ourselves with tea or hot grog as we felt inclined.

The scene and occupation recalled vividly to my recollection an adventure of my boyish days on Inchmoan, an island in Loch Lomond in Dunbartonshire. With others, I procured a boat at Greenock, sailed from the Clyde up the water of Leven, which Smollett has immortalized, and spent a week upon Loch Lomond. The weather was unsettled and showery; the distant hills

"Alternate smiled and frowned",

and for the night we landed on the island with

the intention of raising a tent with our sails, but as good luck would have it, there was a deserted farm house which we took possession of, and kindled a fire in the middle of the floor, over which we suspended a kettle by a rope; having made a supper from our store basket, with hot punch, we stretched ourselves around on the floor, setting a ward and watch at the door, changed every hour. In the morning the wind had become calm, and instead of taking breakfast in the house, we kindled a fire under a tree, and suspended our kettle from a branch. While enjoying ourselves at an early hour in a beautiful gray morning, a boat with passengers sailed by, and on the opposite island at a little distance, the red deer looked out at us from the wood; we then steered for Rhuardinnan, where we passed the night; in the morning we ascended Ben Lomond, and after jocundly enjoying the far seen mountain-top, we descended the precipice at the back, and passed the night in a house at the sources of the river Forth, from which, by another route, we returned next day to our boat at Rhuardinnan,—but it is not that joyous excursion on the Highland lake, that I have to describe.

I may be pardoned this digression, recalled to recollection by the houseless shores and shipless seas around, but still more by the scene on that island,

in all respects so similar to the one I had seen more than thirty years before.

Next morning, the waters of Lake Huron were unmolested by the wind, and we sailed towards Cabot's Head, deviating a little from our direct course to view the islands of the Flower Pots, lofty rocks which rise from the lake, shaped like such utensils, and bearing a gigantic bouquet of trees.

We then bore away for Cabot's Head, with the sight of which I was agreeably disappointed, having learned something of its alleged stormy features, and expected to see a lofty promontory; but the descriptions were much exaggerated, we saw only a woody stretch of land not very lofty, lying calm in the sunshine of a still afternoon, and instead of dark clouds and lurid lightnings, beheld only beauty and calm.

Having doubled this "Good Hope" of the lakes, we then kept close along shore examining all the coast with care, but we could discover only the mouths of inconsiderable streams, and no indentation that to our inspection appeared suitable for a harbour.

In the afternoon of the following day, we saw afar off by our telescope, a small clearing in the forest, and on the brow of a rising ground a cottage delightfully situated. The appearance of such a

sight in such a place was unexpected, and we had some debate, if it could be the location of Dr. Dunlop, who had guided the land exploring party already alluded to, nor were we left long in doubt, for on approaching the place, we met a canoe having on board a strange combination of Indians, velveteens and whiskers, and discovered within the roots of the red hair, the living features of the Doctor. About an hour after having crossed the river's bar of eight feet, we came to a beautiful anchorage of fourteen feet water, in an uncommonly pleasant small basin. The place had been selected by the Doctor, and is now the site of the flourishing town of Godrich, and which, from being the only port for a fertile country within many miles, and many millions of acres, must, as civilization progresses westward, become an important location.

Here we landed, and cheerfully spent the night in the log cottage which the Doctor had raised, damped, however, a little in our hilarity, by learning that the horses having taken it into their heads to stray into the forest, were at that moment lost to the explorers, and "wandering up and down."

Among other things which tended to make our success in finding a haven agreeable, was the production of a bottle of champagne, probably the

first wine drunk on that remote spot, but not for that so remarkable as the cause. In the winter preceding, the Doctor and I returning late to York from Quebec, found ourselves hungry and exhausted; all the shops and taverns were closed, nevertheless, to wait till the morning in a semi-Christian land without refreshment, was impossible, so we sent out my servant to forage. After ransacking all houses admissible at such an hour, he returned, bringing with him two large frozen herrings or powans, and two bottles of champagne. The herrings were soon cooked, and one of the bottles discussed; the other was that which we drank on the coast of Lake Huron, and which, unknown to me, had been preserved for many months for this occasion.

Next day we explored the river in which the Bee was anchored, and had the gratification of seeing, as we ascended, several pleasant meadows without a tree, and islands and peninsulas that reminded us of the pleasantest parts of England. The following evening we again embarked, and sailing down the lake, expected to reach Detroit on the 4th of July *, but the weather was calm, and when we sailed into the river St. Clair, though the stream ran strong, the wind rose against us, and our passage down was disagreeable. We landed, however,

* The great American festival.

just as the American lighthouse was kindled for the night, but found it a mean place, and the adjacent houses, that had attracted our attention in the twilight, ruinous and deserted; we therefore returned to the vessel and resumed our course.

Having sailed down the shallow lake of St. Clair, where the land was level almost with the water, and the views around domestic and inviting, we at last entered the river of Detroit, where a large tree on the American side serves for a beacon.

The shores of the river Detroit are among the oldest settled parts of America; the town was founded by the French in the same year that William Penn laid the foundation of Philadelphia, and the aspect of the place, with its large decayed church, resembles an old European town. As you approach Detroit, the banks of the river are like those of the Scheldt in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, and, as seen from the water, are not inferior to those of that often contested stream.

At this time the view was rendered particularly lively by hundreds of Indians with their families, assembled to receive the annual presents with which they are cajoled to quit their country and to retire from before the unprincipled policy of Christian white men.

After all our endeavours, we were too late for seeing the American festival; we did not arrive at

Detroit till break of day of the 5th; we immediately landed however, and found a new and elegant hotel, near to which a steam-boat was lying. My business at the Land Office there obliged me to stop for the day, but the weather was fine, and my companions found themselves agreeably entertained.

In the evening I went to the Catholic priest and enquired for the Bishop of Rhæsina, who I had learned was somewhere in that quarter, and I was gratified to hear he was staying at a seminary on the English side. As this very estimable man was a valued friend, I immediately got the boat of the vessel manned to visit him, but as we sailed down the river we happened to miss each other. In the morning, however, he returned, and as the head of the American Land Office had been very accommodating to me, I invited him to dine with us, and our whole party, with the bishop, spent a cheerful afternoon.

When his lordship returned to his domicile we went to the theatre, which was then open, and were agreeably surprised at our reception. The men from the Bee were in the house, and seeing Captain Douglas in uniform, the chief seats were given to us, and the orchestra struck up " Rule Britannia " and " God save the King ". This circumstance, so incredible from the notions we had

been led to form of the American character, greatly surprised us, and though it savours of vanity, I am irresistibly led to mention that I was particularly solaced afterwards by a number of Scottish airs. The fact was, that one of the players knew something of me, and he had suggested this mode of complimenting the visitors. Be it remarked, that this was the first time that the theatre was opened for performance after the celebration of the anniversary of the American separation from Great Britain.

The following afternoon we left the Bee to make the best of her way back to Penetanguishine, and embarked for Buffaloe in the steam-boat.

While at Detroit my attention was drawn to a small boat propelled by wheels, like a steam-boat, the paddles being moved by treadles under the feet of the lad who steered *.

* I have noticed this invention in a note, when speaking of the team-boat from Troy on the Hudson; the paddle-wheels are similar to those of the steam-boat, and indeed, save in the moving power, the boats are of the same genus. It is a curious fact, that the paddle-wheel, an invention of the ancients, like the saw, the axe, or the plough, seems to have attained at once perfection, issuing complete from the brain, like Minerva armed, from the head of Jove.

There is a picture by Raphael, representing an incident in the story of Acis and Galatea, in which the paddle-wheel is introduced. "She is borne", says my authority, "in a shell drawn by dolphins", and it has been supposed that the painter invented the wheel, but that is a mistake, it is much older. Raphael died in 1520. In 1543 Velasco de Garay, a Spaniard, exhibited a paddle-wheel boat to the Emperor Charles V. on the 17th of June, at Barcelona. Moreover this boat was also a steam-

As the weather was blustering on Lake Erie, I was very sick, and could see nothing; but at Cleveland we took on board a number of passengers remarkably well dressed and well bred: they proved to be citizens, chiefly from Virginia. One of them very kindly invited me to visit him, much

boat, and the Spaniards may claim the invention in defiance of the Americans and us. In 1578, the method of propelling boats by external wheels was mentioned in a publication by William Bourne, the port-reeve of Gravesend. But the suggestion of using steam as it is done by the moderns, is supposed to have been made by a Frenchman, De Caus, prior to the year 1624. Giovanni Branca, an Italian philosopher, made however a similar discovery prior to 1629.

It is commonly supposed that the Marquis of Worcester, about 1655, discovered both the steam-engine and the steam-boat, and one Jonathan Hull in the year 1736, certainly did invent a tug-boat of the steam species, though it came to no effect. After Hull, the Marquis de Jouffroy made also the same discovery. In 1781, he constructed a steam-boat at Lyons. But to no man does the present improved state of steam navigation owe so much as to Mr. Symington.

In 1795, the late Lord Stanhope, however, moved a boat by steam. But it is no longer disputable, that Mr. Henry Bell of Glasgow, and Mr. Fulton of America, to whom the practical application of the discovery owes so much, derived their knowledge of the steam-boat from witnessing the experiments of Mr. Symington.

It is strange that machinery should have been so long neglected in navigation, and still more that the power of steam should have been so little applied till our own time, for it is an old discovery, and was employed by Hero of Alexandria, it is said, two centuries before the Christian era.

In this note a curious question may be put: Has it ever been tried to drive paddle-wheels by the wind-mill? By substituting the wind-mill for the steam-engine, the tonnage occupied by the fuel would be saved, and it would matter not whether the wind blew foul or fair. The ingenious idea of employing the wind-mill as a propelling power in navigation is not mine.

more than a thousand miles off,—such is the conveyance by steam,—and mentioned that they had come round by New Orleans, and were then only ten days in coming up the Mississippi and the other rivers which brought them to embark on Lake Erie. They were going to Quebec.

At Buffaloe we landed after a disagreeable passage of two days, and remained only long enough there to see the place and its environs, staying at the Eagle tavern as a private party, for one does not always meet in the United States with such accommodation as is provided there. The house is larger, and somewhat resembles York House at Bath; if the palm of superiority must be awarded, I think the Eagle tavern at Buffaloe the best house of the two.

Buffaloe is a very prosperous and handsome town, and will be, I should think, a large place, as it stands at the head of the long canal that traverses the state of New York to Albany; though I have heard since that the Welland canal is becoming a formidable rival to it, especially in the carrying trade from the western country.

We then crossed in an extra, as they call a post coach, the swift current of the Niagara river, and arrived in due time at the hotel at the Falls, where we accidentally met with Captain Basil Hall, his

lady, child, and servants, returning from the Southern states.

Thus ends the narrative of a voyage of discovery, in which no hardship was suffered, and much pleasure enjoyed.

CHAPTER XII.

A stipulation in the Company's contract with Government.—Curious stratagem.—Reflections. — Visit Guelph. — Visitors. — Exploring the Grand River.—Return to York.

On my return to York, from the inspection of the coast of Lake Huron, an event took place which, remembering the invidia that surrounded me, sank deep into my bosom, and was corrosive to feeling.

In arranging the terms of agreement for the Canada Company with the Secretary of State, it was covenanted that the Company should have no claim to reserves on which public works were erected. Nothing could be more reasonable, and no objection was made to the stipulation; but it happened soon after my return, a surveyor came to the office and made an offer for a lot of land at Penetanguishine, which, as his price was liberal, I determined to accept at once; accordingly, his application went through the requisite official examinations.

In the mean time I told him if the land were found to belong to the Company, his offer would be accepted. What further passed I do not now

recollect, but while he was speaking with me the clerk had ascertained that the royal stores and dockyards were situated on the lot. So palpable a stratagem instantly roused me, and I reproached the man for attempting to procure the land, telling him that it was reserved.

Something in his manner convinced me that he was only an agent in the business, and I at once taxed him with my suspicion, having become indignant at so barefaced a trick to take me in. At last he confessed that he had been employed by others, and "proclaiming his malefactions," asked my pardon. That afternoon, without any particularity, I wrote to the government office that the land was reserved by the contract, referring only to that circumstance.

Why recourse was had to such a surreptitious mode of management I know not, but it occasioned ruminations not pleasant; except, however, to buy the land as for himself, by the surveyor, there was not much to complain of. But the more I reflected on the transaction, I became convinced it implied an apprehension of something unworthy of me, and as feathers in the air shew the course of the wind, I became satisfied, in my own mind, that there was yet no disposition to treat me with that confidence which I deserved. Towards my trust every thing went agreeably, for

I took care to be abstemious in my requests; but this strange endeavour proved, as I conceived, a dread that I would take some sort of an unfair advantage if aware of the dockyard and stores being on the lot. It was as strong a proof as could be given that the sentiments which I felt it my duty to cherish towards the government were not reciprocal.

I meditated on the transaction,—there was no end to my wonder. I did not consider the affair as in itself serious, but could not mistake the indication. At last I grew angry at myself for making so much of it; but I could not resist the recurrence, for I had no books to withdraw my mind, and knowing how I had been traduced, however secretly, to Sir P. Maitland, I visited no one without a special invitation.

It is not possible to make the reader comprehend how I could be troubled in mind with such a mere phantasy, nor can I account for it now; but it afflicted me like a calamity not to be shaken off.

After staying some time on official business at York, I went to Guelph, to inspect the improvements, of which I had appointed Mr. Prior the overseer and manager, and was gratified at the condition of every thing.

While there I received a visit from Bishop

Macdonell and the provincial Inspector-general, the first visitors to the new settlement; and when they had left me, other friends from Edinburgh, with ladies, came also in, for the works being on a great scale, were now becoming objects of curiosity. Not being restricted in any means which could be employed in the country, I certainly did indulge myself in the rapidity of creation. As an instance, when the strangers were with me, I desired the woodmen to open one of the projected streets, and they effected a clearing, greater than the avenue in Kensington Gardens, the trees much larger, in an hour and ten minutes *.

* The glory of Guelph was unparallelled, but, like all earthly glories, it was destined to pass away. It consisted of a glade, opened through the forest, about seven miles in length, upwards of one hundred and thirty feet in width, forming an avenue, with trees on each side far exceeding in height the most stupendous in England.

The high road to the town lay along the middle of this Babylonian approach, which was cut so wide to admit the sun and air, and was intended to be fenced of the usual breadth, the price of the land contiguous to be such as to defray the expense of the clearing.

In America, the timber felled in inland places is burnt off, and the wrecks of the forest in this "arborous vast" underwent the process. But the imagination forbears when it would attempt to depict the magnificent effect of the golden sun shining through the colossal vista of smoke and flames;—the woodmen dimly seen moving in "the palpable obscure", with their axes glancing along in the distance. A Yankee post-boy who once drove me to Guelph, on emerging from the dark and savage wood, looked behind in astonishment as we entered the opening, and clapping his hands with delight, exclaimed "What an Almighty place!"

By doing speedily and collectively works which in detail would not

With my Edinburgh friends I rode to Galt, resolving, after giving some orders, to return to the office at York; but on reaching Mr. Dickson's, we heard of the Earl of Liverpool's misfortune, and the formation of the Canning ministry, which we determined to commemorate. Accordingly, as the Grand River never had been properly explored, we caused a scow to be built to descend the stream, and embarking at the bridge of Galt, set out with the current to name the most remarkable islands and headlands in its course.

The day was bright and beautiful, and the trees seemed pleased to see themselves in the clear flowing water. I do not now, however, recollect all the names we gave to the different points. One peninsula, however, that was an island when the snows melted, we called "Eldon's Doubt"; another bold bluff promontory, overlooking a turbulence in the stream, we named "Canning's Front"; and a violent rapid was hailed, in honour of one whom I could not but consider accessary to our being in such wilds, as "Horton's Hurries." But it would seem the name was not well taken, for in sailing over it, a rock in the most spiteful manner

have been remarkable, these superb effects were obtained. They brought "to home" the wandering emigrants, gave them employment, and by the wonder at their greatness, magnified the importance of the improvements. This gigantic vision did not cost much more than the publication of a novel.

so damaged the scow, that she was more than half full before we could get the ladies landed in a little bay, where the water at the brink was only eight feet deep.

By this time it was sun-set, and we had to travel the forest for some distance before reaching a clearing, at last we got to a farm-house of one Walter Scott, who came, of all places in the world, from Selkirk. We staid with him that night, and as there is a shallow in the Grand River near his house, we called it Abbotsford. We then proceeded to Brantsford, the Indian village, and thence into the purlieus of civilization, from which, by the pretty breezy town of Ancaster on the hill, I went on alone to York.

Narratives of this kind are not uninteresting, though they seem in nothing influential; for it is, at least, as curious to know from what things, as well as books, a man derives his knowledge. This descent of the Grand River furnished me afterwards with the idea of that similar excursion, which I have described in Laurie Todd.

CHAPTER XIII.

Remove to Burlington Bay.—La Guyerian emigrants.—Festival at Guelph.—Reflections.

About this time I found the distance between York and the seat of the chief expenditure for the Canada Company so great, as to render it expedient to make my head-quarters half-way. In consequence I took a house at the head of the lake conveniently situated and soon removed to it.

I had not been long settled in this domicile, when one Sunday morning a deputation came to me, from a body I think, in all, of fifty-seven emigrants, who had come from New York, where they had been landed from La Guyera in South America. They were part of the settlers whom the Columbian Company had enticed to transport themselves to that region, where being disappointed and reduced to great necessity, they were for a time obliged to subsist on charity, and were ultimately sent by the consul there to Mr. Buchanan, the British consul at New York. On their arrival,

knowing my scheme of a new settlement, he sent them on to Upper Canada to me.

I was not provided with money to support pauper emigrants, and had no instructions for such an emergency, nor could I discern why Mr. Buchanan had passed by the Government of the province, and sent these miserable creatures to me. But the emergency admitted of no delay. They could not be sent back to Mr. Buchanan, and the provincial Government was fifty miles distant, and could not be consulted. I considered that as the Company had work, it would be doing service to Government to employ these people, accordingly directed them to proceed to Mr. Prior at Guelph, till I had time to consider their case.

Accordingly they went on, but when I was informed that the greatest number of them were women and children, and all weak and many sickly, I saw that the earnings of the men would not be sufficient to support them. From motives, however, partly of humanity, and partly out of consideration that though they had been thoughtlessly sent to me, they were in fact under the protection of Government, I determined to keep a thousand pounds back of a payment to Government, until the matter was adjusted, and wrote the Governor to this effect, but went next day to York to see the Receiver-general, to ascertain from him what

would be the effect of making an impending payment so much short. From him I learnt that it would be exceedingly inconvenient, as he depended on the funds; I therefore agreed to pay him the whole amount under an understanding that the thousand pounds was in doubt for the La Guyerians, until the business was cleared up.

This arrangement the Governor could not know, but it shews by what spirit I was actuated. When his answer arrived, he condemned me for keeping back the money, as I expected he would do, but having provided against any public inconvenience, no importance was attached to his displeasure, conscious that there were circumstances enough in the case to justify my irregularity. I cannot, however, yet know how it happened, but in an uncommonly short period I received what I believe was a kind of reprimand from home for passing by the local government. However, when I am conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, I never scruple

> "for a great good
> To do a little wrong."

I had not passed by the local government; on the contrary, I had done all in my power to prevent it from feeling any inconvenience by what was done.

But this was not all: it was found that the La Guyerian emigrants would make tolerable settlers, and in consequence I directed Mr. Prior to get houses built for them, and to assign them farms of fifty acres each, at the usual price in the township, but in consequence of their poverty to waive the first payment, and to give them all on credit, they paying interest at six per cent. for the boon.

Just at this time I was informed from various quarters that the Directors disapproved of my extensive proceedings at Guelph, but I paid no other attention to the rumours than to hamper Mr. Prior, whose greatest fault was to see things too well done. Moreover, on considering the dates, I saw that the reports must be of colonial fabrication, for the account of my undertakings could not have reached London. This fact, which made me disregard the rumours, increased my heart-burning, for I could not doubt that I had enemies in the province still, and my affliction was exasperated by a new cause.

In the houses for the La Guyerian emigrants, Mr. Prior, in a laudable spirit, but to me from all these things most vexatious, contracted to build better habitations than were requisite. In consequence I refused to ratify the contracts, but agreed to allow payment of the outlay that might have

been incurred. From some oversight, the clerk of the works charged the emigrants with the outlay, but forgot to give Mr. Prior credit for the same, and his demand on the Company was resisted, chiefly I believe through the mistaken misrepresentations of the accountant. However, I have since heard from one of the Directors that the La Guyerian emigrants have paid most of the thousand pounds,—probably by this time all is paid, with interest at six per cent.

Soon after this business was settled, I appointed the 12th of August as a kind of fair in the new town, invited a number of friends, and gave a public dinner in the market-house to the inhabitants; for it required not the wisdom of Solomon to see that occasional amusements were necessary to promote content, and I have always had a peculiar enjoyment in the hilarity of others. But the 12th of August was not chosen without design: it was the king's birthday, celebrated in the first town of the family name; the anniversary of the day on which the Canada Company was instituted; the anniversary also of my father and mother's wedding; the birthday of one of my sons, and within six hours of being the anniversary of another. But though it passed as such sort of festivals generally do, yet it was to me followed by very little pleasure. An occasion into which

no sinister feeling might have been supposed to enter;—had there been any lurking sentiment of that kind, prudence would have repressed the expression. But the proceedings were misrepresented, and it shews that in Upper Canada my lines had not fallen in pleasant places.

The first toast after dinner was of course the King, the next, the rest of the Royal Family. The army and navy were certainly intentionally omitted, because the list of public toasts was long enough without them, but in their stead were the governor-in-chief of the provinces, and the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. In giving the former, I took occasion to mention that I had a particular pleasure in proposing it, as I regarded myself personally indebted to the Earl of Dalhousie. The next was Sir Peregrine Maitland, which I prefaced with strong assurances of the alacrity with which my every wish had been met by his Excellency; no more than truth; and it was in consequence drunk with marked approbation. But will it be credited, that an occasion of mere festivity was converted into one that served to justify detraction? It was said that I had omitted to drink the health of Sir Peregrine, and that I had seized the opportunity to abuse the clergy corporation. The matter taken by itself was trivial, and but for the assurance that it gave of my being an

object of malevolence, would have been disregarded. But one does not require to consult Tacitus, to know that there is no hatred so inextinguishable as that which follows unprovoked injuries.

What increased the excoriation of the heart I began to suffer, at finding every thing I did so distorted by some secret enemies,—I say some secret enemies, for everywhere I found friendliness from the general inhabitants,—was, that the Directors in London began now to take up the strain.

It had been clearly understood as an inducement to Government to sell the reserves to the Company, that the province was to be greatly benefited by its operations, and that it was not to be a mere land-jobbing concern. I therefore estimated the expenditure, one thing with another, equal to the price of the land, and I received a paper of calculations made by the gentleman who acted in my absence, by which he shewed himself of the same opinion. But without this consideration, there were circumstances in the state of the times by which the shares of all joint-stock companies were affected. Nevertheless, though I was, to use a familiar figure, only building the house that was afterwards to produce a rental, it was said my expenditure had tended to lower the Company's stock; in short, the echo of the rumour that I had heard

of the Directors' disapproval before any account of my proceedings could have reached London; and, to crown all, I was ordered to change the name from Guelph to *Goderich.* In reply, I endeavoured to justify what had been done, and as the name could not be altered, I called another town, founded about this time at Lake Huron, by the name of his Lordship.

But instead of giving any satisfaction, my letters of justification drew a more decisive condemnation of the name of Guelph. The manner in which this second disapproval was couched set me a-thinking, and laying different things together, I drew the conclusion that there was somewhere a disposition to effect my recall. That I knew could be done without assigning any reason, but it was a step that required a pretext to take, and therefore I determined to make a stand.

Strictly according to rule and law, I wrote back that the name of the place was not a thing that I cared two straws about, but as it had been the scene of legal transactions, it was necessary to get an act of the provincial parliament before the change could be made, and that therefore if the Court would send me the preamble for a bill, I would lose no time in applying for it. I heard however nothing more on the subject, and thus a

most contemptible controversy ended; but I cannot yet imagine how a number of grave and most intelligent merchants ever troubled their heads about such a matter. To me,

. "The rose
By any other name would smell as sweet."

EPOCH SEVENTH.

CHAPTER I.

Reflections.—Troubles.—Colonelcy of Militia.—Fancy Ball.—Private notice of a coming reprimand.—Interview with Sir Peregrine Maitland.—Send in my resignation.—The colonelcy suspended.

AGREEABLY to the division of this work the festival at Guelph becomes epochal, by the incidents which succeeded. All was thriving beyond hope around me, every bud, to use an old homely expression, "biggent" with prosperity; but troubles began to develope themselves,—the night-shade and the apple-tree came into blossom together.

Such seriousness may excite a smile; the transactions will be, however, memorable in the history of what must be a great country, and neither open enmity, nor the covert machinations of personal malice, nor the ingenuity of sordid self-interest, can hereafter prevent my humble name from being associated with the legends of undertakings at

least as worthy of commemoration as the bloody traditions of heroic lands. To lessen the evils of one region by promoting the good of another, was the endeavour of my ambition, and the consciousness of this high aim is not impaired by withdrawing me from witnessing the fruit.

Soon after my return from Guelph, I was informed, by one of the Directors himself, that Mr. Horton had begged him to advise me to be more circumspect towards the officers of government. An admonition of this kind became a topic of thought, and I soon arrived at the conclusion, that it could not be in consequence of my letter to him with the correspondence at my arrival with Sir Peregrine Maitland. Too much time had elapsed to draw from Mr. Horton such a recommendation, and the matter of the La Guyerian emigrants seemed to give no warranty for what he said. I felt, however, much obliged to him. Yet I could not conceal from myself that he was influenced by some cause unknown to me; for I could not imagine that there was anything in my letter to Major Hillier, with the application for the grant of lands at Burlington Bay, so alertly conceded, that could be perverted to other than an expression of my denial of the charges brought against me. But nevertheless, had I not written for my family when I received this letter, I would have postponed my

intention, so much did it, mysteriously as it were, affect me.

Except the impression of this circumstance, there had been a gradual softening in many things towards me, and I began to imagine Sir Peregrine Maitland was now persuaded that my political principles were not such as he had been led to believe.

What contributed to make me think so was a visit which I one day received from Colonel Coffin, the head of the militia department, who mentioned, that his Excellency thought of appointing me to the command of a regiment, and that I had better turn over in my mind which of the gentlemen in the Company's employment should be officers. This information was unequivocally acceptable, and, accordingly, I resolved to change my recluseness into something more cordial towards the general inhabitants of York. I therefore directed one of the clerks, to whom I thought the task might be agreeable, to make arrangements for giving a general Fancy ball to all my acquaintance, and the principal inhabitants. I could not be troubled with the details myself, but exhorted him to make the invitations as numerous as possible.

A short time before this project, Judge Willis, with his lady and mother, had arrived in the province,

and as the old lady agreed to superintend the entertainment, I was sure it would be well done. In the very midst of the preparations, however, I received a private letter from London, informing me that I was to be reprimanded by the Directors next packet, for having insulted the Governor, and that Mr. Huskisson, then Secretary of State, had communicated the complaint of Sir Peregrine Maitland by Mr. Stanley to the Court of Directors.

Utterly astonished at such intelligence, I waited on Sir Peregrine Maitland, and relating to him the information I had received, requested to know when and where I had ever, by word or deed, behaved unbecomingly towards him.

He seemed guarded during the interview, said that he had not been particularly severe in his representations, and denied that he had ever complained of any insult, but acknowledged that he had written home respecting me, on account of the private letter addressed to Major Hillier, with the application for the land at Burlington Bay.

The decided manner in which he repelled the idea of insult, convinced me that there was some exaggeration in my correspondent's letter, and in consequence, I said that until the letters from the Court were received, I would suspend my decision.

In this interview I was convinced, from the manner of Sir Peregrine Maitland, and the time which had elapsed from the date of the transaction, that he was surprised at the effect of his representation. I may be wrong in supposing this, but he spoke less seriously of the whole matter than I was led to expect.

In the course of a few days after I received my despatches, with copies of the correspondence with the Colonial Office, and it molested me to observe that the Directors had at once assumed me guilty, and precluded me from answering the charge. In this I deemed there was great injustice, and also that the construction put upon my letter to Major Hillier was equally unwarrantable and erroneous.

After a good deal of consideration and tingling at every pore, with the remembrance of what I had received before I had been half an hour in the province, I sent in my resignation to the Directors; enclosing it to Mr. Bosanquet, the chairman. My circumstances required me to be guarded in what I did, and therefore, in sending the resignation, I left it to him to present it to the board or not. Had I not at this time reason to believe that my family were on the passage to America, I would not have troubled Mr. Bosanquet; but the step was not imprudent.

He knew not, however, how I had been tor-

mented; for although I communicated my correspondence with the governor to Mr. Horton, in consequence of Sir Peregrine Maitland interdicting all defence and explanation, I had yet not regarded the business deserving of any representation to the Directors; indeed, except to Mr. John Hullett, I never took any notice of it in writing, and only to him, as far as I now recollect, spoke of it incidentally in a light manner, believing that if there were any feeling on the part of the governor concerning the charges brought against me, it would soon subside.

The ball took place at the time fixed, and some two or three days after, meeting Colonel Coffin in the street, I somewhat quizzically enquired what had become of my commission. He replied, that Sir Peregrine had desired him to keep it back, but was evidently ignorant of the cause. Thus ended what would have been accepted as a token of having been vindicated from base aspersions.

It is proper to add, that I was none surprised at the answer of Colonel Coffin, for it was more than could be expected from human nature to think Sir Peregrine Maitland would have then given me the appointment: to have done so, might have made him believe that I would receive the colonelcy as a sop to pacify me after the reprimand, and perhaps it might have had that undignified

effect, but I knew of his excellency's intention to appoint me to the regiment before. One thing, however, I have always thought, though I have not taken the trouble to enquire into the fact, that Mr. Horton, in privately requesting me to be advised to be more circumspect towards the king's officers, had received Sir Peregrine Maitland's complaint, but did not think with Lord Bathurst that it was worth while to make any ado about it. If right in this conjecture, I owe him a favour that requires some acknowledgment, and I think that Lord Bathurst, in not following out a complaint arising from a trivial misconception, showed quite as much practical wisdom as the theoretical gentleman by whom he was succeeded. At all events I could frame no apology for the course which the Directors pursued. It was quite proper, when such a matter was considered important by a secretary of state, for them to take it up seriously; but justice required that the defence should have been heard before the punishment was inflicted.

CHAPTER II.

Perplexities.—Extend my knowledge of the Americans.—A farce.—Arrival of my family.—Enquiries.—Removal to Guelph.—Cardinal Weld.—Rumours of the Company breaking up.—Arrival of the Accountant.

FORTUNATELY these transactions took place far in the year, when it was not necessary to commence any new undertaking, by which I was saved the disagreeable obligation to speak of my resignation. Nothing of it was known in the province,—even in the office. Soon after, I received accounts from home that my family had delayed their departure from England until the spring: I had, however, no time to prevent them from coming, but though, apparently, there was nothing to lead the public to think that the operations of the Company were really suspended, I suffered some vexation in contriving expedients to conceal my intention. Among others, I went somewhat earlier than was necessary to New York to meet my wife and the children, and employed the time there in making myself ac-

quainted with the environs, and the manners and customs of the Americans.

By way of filling up the time, and with reference to some controversy concerning me in the New York papers regarding the farce at Quebec, I wrote while in that city a little dramatic piece called "The Aunt in Virginia," which I have since converted into a tale that has been published in Blackwood. After my departure, it was performed at the Park theatre for the benefit of Mr. Maywood.

I also went into Pennsylvania, and staid two or three days, experiencing the same sort of civilities which made New York agreeable; but met with no incident worth describing. The city of Philadelphia, however, much exceeded in its public edifices my expectation. I ought however to mention what appeared to me very preposterous, namely, the architecture of the national bank. It was nearly a fac-simile in white marble, without the sculptures, of the Parthenon of Athens, but wanting in every respect the characteristics of an edifice for commercial purposes. It really seemed to me far worse than the design which the carpenter made for the tavern. In other respects some of the public buildings deserve commendation; but the grotesque pervades them all, and the display is more of opulence than of taste.

With my usual disposition to discover theoretical causes, I thought it not difficult to account for the general obvious lack of correct taste in the Americans. Their edifices considered as specimens of architecture were, abstracted from their use, extremely good, but they had as little appropriateness about them as Covent Garden Theatre or the India House, buildings which I regard as the most perfect examples of the burlesque extant in architecture. They have all the defects of which such preposterous fabrics are susceptible, and not any of that beauty in execution, which sometimes redeems the faults of design.

From Philadelphia, I returned to New York. Soon after, my family arrived, and among despatches from the Court of Directors, I received a letter from Mr. Bosanquet informing me that after consulting some of my friends, he had withheld the resignation.

I shall always remember with gratitude the kind reception with which my family was welcomed at New York. After staying there several days, we proceeded up the Hudson by a steamer to Albany, where I hired the exclusive use of the cabin of one of the passage boats on the canal, and went on towards Canada. In this trip, as my duties were renewed by the receipt of Mr. Bosanquet's letter, I was assiduous in my enquiries as we went along,

respecting the American systems of settlement; and it afforded me indescribable satisfaction to find mine was superior in simplicity. I knew this, indeed, before, but I was not in a condition to make the comparison sooner myself. For after I had organized the system of business for the Canada Company, and arranged the books requisite to be the index of operations that extended over a vast tract of country, I was enticed by the frank reception I had met with at Geneva in the Pulteney office, to invite a very able person, the chief clerk, to visit me, and to examine the system I had formed. This kindness, Mr. M'Nab, the gentleman alluded to, had fulfilled before my departure to New York, and expressed himself after examining every thing, in very gratifying terms. I was actuated in soliciting him to examine the books of my official routine, by a wish to leave behind, if my resignation were accepted, some proof that I had not neglected my duties, and had made the way smooth for a successor. I could not, however, request him to view the proceedings under Mr. Prior, at Guelph, because they were still in a crude unfinished state, so that it was only the business of the office that could be submitted to his scrutiny.

My family left the Erie canal at Lockport, and proceeded to the house at Burlington Bay. In

the summer I removed to Guelph, being induced to repair for a residence, the receiving house, which Mr. Prior had erected there for settlers, as it was better than such sort of buildings commonly are.

It was not my intention to make Guelph the permanent residence of the superintendent of the Company, though I did propose it to be the site of the principal office. On the contrary, I purchased the small cleared farm of "The Mountain," near to Burlington Bay, and began to collect materials for building in time a house there, which I intended to raise at my leisure. The situation was near the head of lake Ontario, about half way between Guelph and the capital, for I saw that, after the routine of the office was fully at work, it would not be important for the superintendent to be constantly present; the person on whom the charge of the office would devolve, should be sufficient to oversee the details there, and that it would be advantageous for the general superintendent to be in a more accessible and central situation. My reason for wishing the office to be at Guelph was, that as the expenditure of the different gentlemen in the office would be considerable, as well as that of persons coming on business, it would be beneficial to the place. The removal of my family

to Guelph was, therefore, only a temporary measure, and arose from a circumstance which may be here explained.

I had some reason to hope that Mr. Weld of Lulworth castle (now cardinal Weld in Rome) would come to Upper Canada, and probably make it his residence; being desirous to allure him to Guelph, I had this in view in converting the receiving house into a habitation.

Having in some sort a kind of taste in architecture, it seemed to me that the house could be made into a comfortable ecclesiastical abode, and accordingly, although it was only ten feet high in the ceiling, I employed my best skill in laying it out. The reader will please to recollect, that it was but a cottage of one story and formed of trunks of trees; as I have said, however, before, it was of its kind very beautifully constructed by Mr. Prior, externally. I only added a rustic portico to it of trees with the bark, but illustrative of the origin of the Ionic order: it did not cost five pounds. The interior was planned for effect, and on entering was imposing, but the hall and two principal rooms were only twenty feet some inches square. It is not my intention, however, to describe this fabric, but merely to mention my chief object in the repair, after it had served its purpose, and to give some idea of its size, as its magnitude and style have been much

misrepresented. It should be added, that, for myself, I informed the directors that I would allow an adequate rent. My intention was to pay about 10 per cent. on the cost, including the original outlay for the building as a receiving house.

Before, however, removing from Burlington Bay to Guelph, I was obliged to go to Montreal* in consequence of some mistake, which the Company's agent at Glasgow, in Scotland, was alleged to have made with a party of emigrants, and in the course of this journey, I heard accidentally, that letters had been received from London to the effect, that

* It was not till after this excursion, that I was led to observe the waste of mechanical power in the rapids of the St. Lawrence, nor indeed till I saw the mills of my friend, Mr. Clarke, above the Falls of Niagara, was I led to think the power in the rapids might be turned to advantageous account. Their beauty and their grandeur were felt by me as they are by all spectators, and at the first view no one thinks of any thing but their impetuous magnificence. Having seen them two or three times, this impassioned admiration subsides, and one then naturally thinks that they might be put to some useful purpose, at least such was the mental process with me, and I could not but imagine that there was something peculiar in seeking for water privileges among the brooks that run into the river, while so vast a prodigality of power might be found in its stream, nor can I yet conceive how so enterprizing a people as the Americans have not thought of anchoring mills in the rapids, but what often lies most palpable before us we least observe.

A Mr. George, of Quebec, communicated to me an idea of his, of placing wheels or gins in the rapids to tow up vessels by winding in a rope, to which they should be fastened. The notion certainly is practicable, but I fear there is not yet traffic enough on the river to pay and maintain such establishments.

it was the opinion there, the Company could not go on, and that the stock was falling. I was not a little surprised at hearing this, especially as every thing was prosperous with me beyond expectation. The gentleman who told me had not letters himself, but I had no reason to doubt the correctness of his information.

The news seemed unaccountable, but I soon heard it from several quarters, and could not suspect it was sinister; however, as always when impelled to conjecturing, I endeavoured to ferret out the grounds of the report, and, accordingly, as if by accident, threw myself in the way of the gentleman who was said to have had the letters from London, and who propagated the story; but although I was so deeply interested, he preserved complete silence on the subject. Instead, however, of my anxieties being allayed by this strange taciturnity, they were more acutely excited, and I was persuaded the rumour was well founded. It would be wrong to say that I thought there was anything like a conspiracy at the bottom of the business, but it compelled me to entertain an opinion that there were persons, who, for ulterior purposes were interested in beating down the Company's stock to buy in, and that as a matter of course, they were adverse to my proceedings. If I did evil in giving heed to such shallow, and almost imaginary

grounds, I cannot help it, but the suspicion was raised, and haunted me with importunity: nothing was visible, but the air was infected, and the odour was charnal.

After finishing my business at Montreal, I returned home, where I found the accountant of the Company had arrived from England, to act in that capacity and as cashier. This incident, after having felt the inconveniency of insufficient clerks, was gratifying, but on looking at his instructions, they appeared strangely framed, and I was even from the first, not satisfied with them. Shortly after, his emoluments seemed to give a perplexing corroboration to the report I had heard in the lower province. They were, in my opinion, greatly beyond an adequate payment for the duties to be performed. And as the Directors complained of my apparent expenditure, I could not but conclude, that it was resolved to break up the Company, and that the excessive emoluments of the accountant were bait to allure him out of the way, and to enable him to meet the exigencies to which he might be exposed, when the machination should take effect.

I call it machination, because I think it was a transaction of that nature, but I confess it did not seem to me very heinous to buy the stock cheap if no sinister means were employed to lower

the price, especially as the effects of the Company in promoting the prosperity of the province were, in my opinion, of primary importance. Provided they were to be continued, I did not care who were the stockholders, but I could not think without wincing at the idea of being father to a wild and ruinous scheme, for such I saw would be the conclusion, if the subscribers were induced to refuse to pay up their shares.—They were by this time at a discount, but are now the highest priced vendible stock in the market; only seventeen pounds are paid, and the price with the premium is fifty-five per cent., and there has been no change in the system established by me.

CHAPTER III.

The Accountant.—Incivility of the Directors for favours granted.—Opening of the road to Lake Huron.—Sickness of the labourers.—Quarrel with the accountant.—Final determination to return to England.

SOMETHING, in the manner of the accountant, led me to conclude erroneously, that he was a party concerned in the machination which the transactions of every day rendered more and more obvious. I knew that he was naturally of a bad temper, and that though possessed of some redeeming qualities, was so devoured by vanity as not to be able to conduct himself rationally in any trust that implied consequence; I need not, therefore, say that I did not make him the depository of the anxieties I had brought from the Lower province. In fact, if I had been so inclined, his airs and arrogance would have soon made me repent the confidence. I shall therefore say no more of him here, but refer the reader to a document in the Appendix, written in answer to a tissue of falsehoods which he addressed to the shareholders when he returned, and in which I made no scruple of employing the sterling epithets which malignity or insanity merit.

Although my condition was none alleviated by the disastrous arrival of the accountant, I pursued my plans, for the benefit, as I thought, of the Company and for the advantage of the province, namely, by opening roads to render remote lands accessible and of course more valuable, and to give employment to poor emigrants. This was the drift of all I undertook, and in this consisted the pith and marrow of my out-of-door system. Every thing else was subordinate to these two objects, for the Directors gave me no instructions as to taking produce in payments; they did not even think the grant of land at Burlington Beach worth acknowledgement, or even of giving thanks for a building lot at a new harbour, which a personal friend of mine had reserved for the Company. I make no other remark on this strange incivility, than by stating that to me it served to corroborate the rumour I had heard in my way to Montreal.

Of one thing at this time I do not hesitate to say I was proud, and with good reason too:—I caused a road to be opened through the forest of the Huron tract, nearly a hundred miles in length, by which an overland communication was established, for the first time, between the two great lakes, Huron and Ontario. The scheme of this undertaking was, in my opinion, not ill contrived, and was carried into effect almost literally by Mr. Prior,

though the manner in which the Directors now saw every thing, so fretted me, that I could not suppose there was any good, but only waste, in what he did.

All the woodmen that could be assembled from the settlers were directed to be employed, an explorer of the line to go at their head, then two surveyors with compasses, after them a band of blazers, or men to mark the trees in the line,—then went the woodmen with their hatchets to fell the trees, and the rear was brought up by waggons with provisions and other necessaries. In this order they proceeded simultaneously cutting their way through the forest, till they reached their spot of destination on the lonely shores of Lake Huron, where they turned back to clear off the fallen timber from the opening behind.

For this undertaking, which in its object and purpose was stupendous, I was only allowed three thousand pounds, a sum prodigiously inadequate, and it was in consequence imperfectly accomplished; but it set my wits to work, and I declared the men employed on it were only to be paid, part in money and part in land, at a certain price. Thus the undertaking was converted into a source of profit, for although the work cost nearly five thousand pounds, upwards of nineteen hundred were profit by the sale of the land.

But though the magnitude of this " Cæsarean

operation" on the woods, was gratifying to the imagination, it yet occasioned some painful tugs to humanity. One morning upwards of forty of the men came in afflicted with the ague; they were of the colour of mummies, and by hardships frightfully emaciated. I had written to the Directors to let me hire a doctor for a year to the settlement, but no attention was paid to the solicitation. However the case by a little address was rendered not desperate; I ordered a surgeon to be engaged as a clerk, and made him a compensation for his skill.

When the season approached in which it was necessary to suspend the labours, I went to York, both to see what was doing in the office there, of which the accountant was in charge, and to be on the spot when the new governor, Sir John Colborne, who was daily expected, should arrive. It will be readily conceived that I had no particular anxiety to obtrude my good wishes on Sir Peregrine Maitland at his departure, but it will be believed by those who best know me, that I had very little feeling on the subject. In my trusts I had experienced the most alert attention, and as superintendent of the Canada Company I could have only gratitude to express, but I felt no personal obligation, on the contrary; and I did resent with fervour my unworthy treatment; some

excuse might be made for Sir Peregrine Maitland, inasmuch as the calumnies which affected me did not originate with himself; but I thought, and think, that he showed an aptitude to entertain unfavourable impressions.

By this time the accountant had become an affliction, but I still thought he might be endured. I knew how much his situation was important to him, and also that he was aware mine was essential to me. I therefore on more than one occasion beseeched him to sheath his manners, but an incident occurred at this time that, to use a Scottish proverb, "put the head sheaf on the stuke," in English, "crowned all."

Remembering, as I could not but remember, how disagreeable I had been it seems to Sir Peregrine Maitland, I still thought that for his attentions to the objects of my trust, though they called for acknowledgment from the superintendent of the Canada Company, John Galt was but little indebted to him, and therefore I resolved to make a marked distinction between them; accordingly I wrote a civil but true note as superintendent.

To this letter the accountant imagined he should have been a party, but I thought differently.

In the course of the day I received a notification from Sir Peregrine, intimating that if I would come early to the Government-house next morn-

ing, he would introduce me himself to the new lieutenant-governor. This was more than I expected, and I received the invitation as an assurance that my political conduct had not been unsatisfactory. I mentioned this invitation to the accountant, and begged him to be in order, as I would afterwards present him to Sir John Colborne; but at the communication he sullenly heard me.

Next day, when I returned from the Government-house, I requested him to dress himself to go with me to Sir John Colborne, but he broke out into a frantic passion, talked unmitigated nonsense, and said, I ought to have taken him "in my hand" when I went to Sir Peregrine. His manner was so ridiculous that I could not answer him gravely, but something like a threat of complaining to the directors, implying a sort of authorized surveillance over me, and as if he had something in his power, roused me to think, and as my situation by him, and other things, was rendered one of real suffering, I determined to return to England, and accordingly wrote, by the first packet, the following letter to the directors:—

"Nelson, Nov. 9th, 1828.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I had recently the honour to communicate to the Court my persuasion that the affairs of the

Company could not be managed by two offices, in the way proposed by Mr. Smith, without great additional trouble and expense. It was also then mentioned, that I was no less persuaded inconvenience would arise from his holding an independent correspondence with the Directors. I understand he has since sent home the whole or portions of the result of his enquiries, which I have never seen; and I have to add, that, except his first letter, I have not seen any of his communications to the Court.

"If he has private instructions to act in this manner, it ought to have been communicated to me that he had private instructions, and then I should have been able to decide what was the becoming course to take; and if he has not private instructions, I am placed under the painful necessity of saying of an old friend, that I can no longer justify to myself the endurance of the tone and authority he has assumed.

"This, with the manifest and growing necessity of averting an increase of misconceptions, as well as to offer and obtain the multifarious explanations which seem to be requisite for the right and systematic management of the Company's interest, has induced me to determine on returning home, in order that a proper understanding may be established, and instructions issued, by which the

management may be harmoniously conducted. It will not, I fear, be practicable to be with the Court before the general meeting in December, but it may be adjourned.

"I have the honour, &c.

"JOHN GALT."

"To the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the Canada Company."

In sending this letter to the post office, my servant told me, when he came back, that the accountant had crossed Lake Ontario in the morning, and I was soon informed that he had gone to New York—which left me in no doubt he was off for England. My departure was in consequence rendered impossible, without a scandalous abandonment of duty. However, I resolved to prepare for going home, and immediately began to make arrangements for that purpose. The season of the year was convenient, all the works were suspended, and I had only to get the accounts made up, which were found to have been left in much confusion, worse than before the arrival of the accountant, an effect of his precipitate flight.

CHAPTER IV.

New rumours of the Company breaking up.—Strange conduct of the directors.—Payment due to government.—No money.—Resolution.—Effects.—Mr. Fellows' report.—The directors of the Canada Company allow a bill for cash received to be protested.

After the departure of the accountant for England, I received from different quarters many tokens of assurance that the Company would soon be broken up; in consequence my resolution to return home seemed the more necessary. But an event, soon after, took place which drove me to my wit's end.

The Directors of the Company, without apprising me, ordered the bank of York not to answer my drafts; what was meant by this disgraceful and embarrassing order they knew best themselves, but I received the intimation as another proof that the Company was near its dissolution, and something like a reason to apprehend that the misfortune was to be represented as originating with me. I do not insinuate that it was so intended, but the Directors ought to have seen it would have this effect.

Mortifying as this measure undoubtedly was, it failed of its effect, for I was so exasperated, that I resolved, as I was now going home, to disregard any instructions coming from the Court, and to attend only to what I thought was for the good of the proprietary. I did not need to wait long for an opportunity, to act on this decision.

In the month of December, there was a payment of about eight thousand pounds, due to the colonial government, for which I was not provided with literally one penny, and I augured, from the inconsistencies of the Court, that I would not be supplied. In this dilemma, I sent Dr. Dunlop to Montreal, to see if he could obtain the money from the agents of the Company, or from the correspondents of such Directors as were connected with Canada. I anticipated no success in this alternative, and was not mistaken; none of them would advance a shilling.

In this crisis, I recollected that there were ten thousand pounds of government debentures, deposited in the bank by myself, which, by some oversight, the Directors seemed to have forgotten. I accordingly waited on the Receiver-general, told him how I was situated, and offered, if he would endorse my bills on the Company, for the payment to government, to give him security in the debentures. A transaction of this kind na-

turally surprised him, but with the friendliness I had ever experienced from him, he communicated, as I have reason to believe, my proposal and embarrassment to Sir John Colborne, the lieutenant-governor. With that alacrity to prevent the blight which would fall on an institution, beneficial to the province, if the payment was not made, Sir John assented to my proposal. The bill was accordingly drawn, the honour of the Company saved, and the public officers sheltered from the inconveniences that might have attended the sudden suspension of their salaries, the means of paying which were provided for in the payment.

I saw, by the rumours reaching me from all quarters, that this step would not be indulgently considered by the Court of Directors, but I as plainly perceived that I had essentially served the Company, and was satisfied with my consciousness of having done right as a sufficient reward. I do not know if ever the Court of Directors condescended to mention the affair out of their own body, but what would have been the result had the Company failed in its payment, on which the government depended?

Thoroughly persuaded now that I was destined to be a victim, I determined not to be knocked on the head without a struggle, and in consequence, having gathered from the accountant, as well as

from manifold reports, that my proceedings were viewed with no favourable eye, I sent to the Pulteney office, at Geneva, to request a gentleman, who is now principal agent for the property, to come and inspect my operations; I was very earnest that he should do so, and the cause is sufficiently obvious. As soon as possible he obeyed my anxious request, and after a very minute scrutiny gave me the following report, which I transmitted to the Court of Directors.

It pleased them, however, to pay no attention to the document, although it proceeded from one of the best qualified gentlemen in all the United States, and whose trust was, at least in those days, ten times the value of theirs.

"Guelph, Upper Canada, Feb. 4, 1829.

"GENTLEMEN,

"AT the request of John Galt, Esq., superintendent of the concerns of the Canada Company, I have visited this place, viewed the improvements in the village, and examined the roads contiguous to it, made under his orders.

"Considering the short period of time that has elapsed since the village was founded, and that it is only about eighteen months since it was an entire forest, the number of buildings, and the population, are proofs of uncommon industry and enterprise.

"I have perused with attention a report made to Mr. Galt by Mr. Charles Prior, of the different improvements made by him on the lands of the Company, under the direction of Mr. Galt, and I have the pleasure of expressing to you my most decided opinion, that all the proceedings of Mr. Galt and Mr. Prior have been exceedingly judicious; that the improvements have been indispensable to the sale and settlement of the Company's lands, and that the outlays for mechanics' and labourers' wages are as moderate, as is usual in a new and unsettled country; for it is impossible, in such a country, to get good hands without the allowance of high wages, as an inducement to submit to the inconveniences, incident to labouring in the wilderness, remote from settlements, where many privations must be endured, and the health greatly exposed. Mechanics' and labourers' wages are uniformly higher than they are, after a more general improvement of the country.

"I am of opinion that the sales, thus far made, have been at good prices, and the cash payments larger than is usually received from the first settlers in a new tract of land.

"I have examined the books in which sales are entered, and also the forms of certificates and contracts given to purchasers, and the letters addressed to applicants for land: the certificates,

contracts, and letters are in very suitable form, and the books are well adapted to exhibit correct and accurate views of the affairs of the Company.

" It has been found by experience that it is necessary, to the prosperous and successful management of large estates of new land, that the agent or superintendent should be invested with very ample discretionary powers; and it is generally impracticable to promote, in the best manner, the interests of such a concern, under restrictions imposed by principals residing in foreign countries, not acquainted with the wants and necessities of a new country, and unable to appreciate the difficulties encountered by the poor people, who are uniformly the first settlers of such a country. In the management of the Pulteney estates in the state of New York, it was found impracticable to execute the instructions of Sir William Pulteney, and he subsequently permitted his agent to exercise as full a discretion in the management of his property as if he had been the proprietor of it. The present resident agent of the Holland Land Company, refused to accept his appointment until he was invested with full discretionary powers, for the management of the affairs of the Company.

" I understand from Mr. Galt, that his sales are on a credit of five years, one fifth of the purchase money being paid down. The credit of sales of

the Pulteney estates is from seven to ten years; and, I am informed, the latter period is the usual credit granted on sales of the crown lands in Canada by the King's commissioner. By extending the credit from five to ten years, and, in particular cases, by accepting small sums as first payments, the sales may be considerably increased, much to the advantage of the Company.

"The execution of contracts and other writings in triplicate, to the end that one of the copies may be transmitted to the Company in London, will, in my judgment, be attended with much labour and expense, without any adequate advantage. The transmission of an annual return,—to exhibit the sales of land, the cash collections and expenditure, the lands remaining unsold, the amount of debt due to the Company on sales, and other necessary particulars, would,—by being thrown into a condensed form, furnish all the information necessary to a proper understanding of the operations of the concern. If the Company should require the transmission to England of original vouchers, it would be necessary to take them in duplicate, a measure which will prove to be very troublesome in so large a business; and I should recommend the verifications of the accounts by oath, in preference to the transmission of vouchers. The trustees of the Johnstone estate at one time re-

quired triplicate contracts to be sent to them ; but the arrangement proved to be so inconvenient, that they have long since abandoned the requisition, and accepted returns similar to those above mentioned.

" I would recommend, as an improvement of the form of licence granted to a purchaser to take possession of a lot of land on making the first payment, the addition of a clause binding him to dispense with notice to quit, in case it should become necessary, by failure of payment or other cause, to remove him from the land by legal process.

" I think the present office of the Company, in the village of Guelph, is quite insufficient for the convenient and proper execution of so extensive a concern, and that it will be necessary that a larger and more convenient building should be erected. The present occupancy of several different buildings for offices is extremely inconvenient, as it is attended with much loss of time in going from one office to another.

" Upon the whole, I beg leave most respectfully to state to the Company, my decided opinion that Mr. Galt's agency has been conducted with sound judgment, a proper regard to economy and the interests of the Company ; that his proceedings have promoted their best interests ; and, I believe, the

Company cannot more effectually promote their own views, than by delegating to him the most ample discretionary powers.

"I am, Gentlemen, your humble Servant,

(Signed) "JOSEPH FELLOWS."

"Sub-agent to the Pulteney and Johnstone Estates, residing at Geneva, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York.

"To the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Canada Company."

The report of Mr. Fellows would, I thought, be conclusive as to the tendency of my transactions, and the accounts satisfactorily demonstrate that there was no extravagance in my undertakings—in a word, that the report and the accounts would exonerate me from the sinister charge of prodigality, which had been fabricated against me.

Connected with the inspection of Mr. Fellows, there was an incident for which I have no epithet of resentment adequate to express the feelings which arise, whenever I think of it.

In coming to Guelph, Mr. Fellows passed through part of the Pulteney lands, and made a collection of instalments, that amounted to about one hundred pounds. As the money was in notes of different denominations of dollars, the parcel was bulky, and he gave it to me for a bill on

London, to account of a remittance he had to make. The bill was duly received by the receiver of the Pulteney monies, a banker, but on presenting it for acceptance at the Canada house, the Directors allowed it to be protested; afterwards, thinking better of their rashness, they paid it for the honour of the drawer.

At this period I had left a thousand pounds per annum of my salary in the hands of the Company, so that had I drawn upon them they were amply provided for any possible loss; but I mention this transaction to shew the spirit that had been somehow fomented against me; the result has sufficiently shewn that the treatment—the degradation—was unmerited. My successors have not found they could improve my plans, but they are gathering the freightage of the vessel which I had planned and had the laborious task of the building and launching, by which my health has been vitally injured, and my mind filled with a rancour that has embittered my life. But public bodies are without hearts, and the true way of earning disappointment, is by an ardent endeavour to please. I say this with the austerity of truth, warranted by experience.

CHAPTER V.

Acquisitions of knowledge.—Ancient fortifications.—Digging a well in a rock.—A funereal urn.—Natural phenomena.—A vast tree.

WHILE the necessary preparations for my departure were in process, that the affairs of the Company might not be left in disorder, it being then winter, I had myself comparatively little to do, but as I could not be idle, and had but slight inclination for literature, I involuntarily began to reckon up what items of knowledge had been added to my stock, during my residence in America.

In experience I had certainly gained something, something too of acquaintance with that idiomatic difference, which distinguishes the English race of the new world, from their kindred in the old; but altogether the acquirements were very slender indeed. Reports of marvels I had heard, but they were as echoes of sounds afar off. I had also myself seen monuments of unknown things, and a phase of nature that might have been before imagined, but in the contemplation, was entirely new.

The country was evidently unexamined, and

contained many things to rouse curiosity and awaken conjecture.

I had frequently heard of the remains of earthen fortifications, on which trees of majestic growth demonstrated, that they were older than the discovery of America; and some remains, on my cleared farm of The Mountain, never ceased on every visit to awaken wonder. Part of it was situated on a lofty table land, which descended in abrupt precipices and steep declivities to the lower country. Along the edge of the heights extended a mound of considerable mass, as if in the olden time a battery or wall of earth had been erected there. This relic of an inclosure suddenly turned into the country, and showed that the place had been formerly surrounded. But, save this grave-mound of antiquity, little else could be discovered. There was, however, in one place a considerable abrasion, as it may be called, of the investing heap, which required no very great stretch of fancy, to imagine had been produced by the rush of a flood.

Whether the mound was artificial, or one of those freaks of regularity, which unorganized nature sometimes manifests, greater ingenuity than mine is requisite to determine; but I have never ceased to think that it exhibited the mouldering relics of the warlike expedients of ancient days. It was plain that a mound on the edge of a lofty

upland was not likely to have been accidental, and the sweeping away of the earth was consistent with sacred history.

In speaking one day to Mr. Ridout, the surveyor-general, of this obscure matter for conjecture, and of old square excavations on Burlington Beach, he mentioned to me that he had once seen, in the woods, a very entire ancient fortification of considerable extent, and gave me a direction by which I might ride some day to see it. I forget now its exact situation, but it was within a short distance of the road, which leads from York to Lake Simcoe.

While residing at Burlington Bay, I employed an emigrant to dig a well on my farm, preparatory to other prospective operations. It was seemingly a very absurd proceeding, to look for water on the top of a limestone rock, for where I had fixed on building was a mass of that kind, but the project was not quite irrational, nor undertaken without consideration.

My custom, in the summer evenings, was to prowl alone in the forest. In going along the bottom of the precipices alluded to, I noticed several springs of great affluence, welling from fissures in the rock, and concluded that there were veins and issues of water in the strata, coming from some fountain head. In consequence I sent for an

old German, as famous in those parts for the discovery of ores and springs as Dousterswivel himself, and employed him to perambulate with the divining rod the table land, on which in time I intended to build, in order to ascertain where the well should be excavated. I had no great faith in the operation, but it was one of those things which a person, when he has it in his power, should test.

I became a little interested, very little at first, in the man's proceedings, but ultimately made him prepare a rod, and took a part in the mystery myself. My own experiment, however, owing no doubt to its being a first attempt, was unsuccessful, but after some time he pitched on a spot for the well, and this was on the top of the artificial mound before described. I determined, however, in spite of reason, to give the German fair play, and accordingly, in disregard of remonstrance, ordered the well to be excavated there.

After digging through the earthen mass, which was six or seven feet deep, the digger came to the rock, which, with much blasting and perseverance, was penetrated to the depth of between thirty and forty feet, without any symptom of water, at last he reached a porous stratum, in which were the remains of tropical fishes petrified, and the lime-

stone apparently perforated thickly with worms. I have some specimens of this curious subterranean wonder in my possession, but all was yet as dry as hay.

The well-digger then had recourse to his iron rod, and soon reached with it a subterranean stream of water, which, by rising through the aperture, half filled the well. I offer no comment on this fact, but the well is there, and obtains its water from the perforated rock.

When I removed to Guelph, a labourer on a mill-dam, which a gentleman was constructing, came to a very neatly excavated triangular niche in the rock, and striking his pickaxe into the earth, with which it was filled, smashed an ancient funereal urn into fragments, several of which were brought to me, and resembled, but were of rather better pottery, a number of vases I had dug up in the days of my youth at Athens, some of which I sent to my friend, Principal Baird of Edinburgh, to be placed in the museum of the University.

These items of art were not, however curious, so interesting to me, as the natural phenomena.

It is an established doctrine in America, that the timber indicates the quality of the soil, no one presumes to doubt the fact, and yet it is not easy to find an older growth of natural timber

than that existing in the forest. I do not propose to offer a contradiction to that which is considered so perfectly established, but my own observations afford some warrantry to question its accuracy, for I have seen in several places that when the timber has been long removed from the land, new trees begin to appear not of the same kind as their predecessors. On the farm of The Mountain this was remarkably the case. On a spot where there had been formerly pines and tamaricks, which indicate a poor soil, walnuts and other trees, which are considered as the signs of the richest, began to appear, from which I have ventured to infer that nature herself delights in a rotation of crops, if such a term may be applied to timber*.

This idea of a succession of trees is worthy of examination, to myself it was the parent of many fancies, and I began to endeavour to find out some mode of judging, by the state of the forest, of its antiquity. I was not, however, in this research

* At Chambly, in Lower Canada, in the time of the war, a large space had been cleared for the troops, but on the declaration of peace the land was left fallow. In a few years the greater part was completely overgrown with pines, while in the neighbouring forests, which had been left untouched, there were only maple, beech, &c., with not above one or two pines. Be it remarked, the land around is the richest alluvial soil in Lower Canada, and these trees, it is said, indicate only the most sterile soil.

very successful, but another fact gave some colouring to my theory.

On the road to Guelph, a short distance from Galt, there is an uncleared portion of the primeval forest, on the edge of the township of Beverly, where, in those days, a small tavern, convenient to rest the horses of travellers, was situated. One day, when I stopped at this house, while my horse was taking his corn, I strayed into the woods, not many hundred yards, and came to a tree, the most stupendous I had ever seen.

At the first glance the trunk reminded me of the London monument, an effect of the amaze which the greatness of its dimensions produced. I measured its girth, however, at the height of a man from the ground, and it was thirty-three feet, above which the trunk rose, without a branch, to the height of at least eighty feet, crowned with vast branches.

This was an oak, probably the greatest known, and it lifted its head far above the rest of the forest. The trees around, myrmidons of inferior growth, were large, massy, and vigorous, but possessed none of the patriarchal antiquity with which that magnificent "monarch of the woods" was invested. I think, therefore, that I was not wrong in imagining it the scion of a forest that had

passed away, the ancestral predecessor of the present woods.

Had I been convinced that it was perfectly sound, I would have taken measures for cutting it down, and sending home planks of it to Windsor castle. The fate that awaited it, would have justified the profanation. The doubt of its soundness, however, and the difficulty of finding tools large enough to do it justice, procrastinated the period of its doom. I recommended the landlord of the tavern to direct his guests, from time to time, to inspect this Goliath of oaks.

CHAPTER VI.

New articles of export.—Operations.—Intentions.—A discovery.

FROM the moment that it seemed probable I might be sent to Canada, all the theories, formed in my meditations respecting colonies, began to germinate. The most obvious, for the ultimate advantage of a country, seemed to me the introduction of new articles of produce, which in time might become added to the exports. Accordingly, I had spoken often to some of the Directors on the propriety of the Company, among other means of benefiting the province, instituting an experimental farm. But finding my suggestion go in at the one ear and come out at the other, I resolved to do something in the small way myself.

I have already mentioned my early endeavour to promote the cultivation of hemp in the province. Subsequently, having petitions to present to the Board of Trade from the seigniors and landlords of Lower Canada, when the corn bill was in agitation, and being unsuccessful in obtaining their prayer, I began to feel an interest in the agricul-

ture of the country*. Thus it came to pass, that in my correspondence respecting the claims for the war losses, I was informed of the success which had attended the introduction of tobacco into the province, and was directed, by one of my correspondents, to ascertain privately if an abatement of the duty on Canadian tobacco might be obtained, as it was an intention, in the next session of the Provincial Parliament, to make a public application to the British government on the subject. On receiving this intimation it occurred to me, that tobacco being an agricultural article, which did not interfere with the corn prejudices of the De Coverleys of England, the abatement of the duty was a legitimate object of pursuit.

Having ascertained that no representation had then been received from Canada, I addressed a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, to which

* A very striking circumstance occurred respecting these petitions. The present Earl of Ripon, then at the Board of Trade, did all, as I conceived it, in a minister's power, to promote the object of the petitions; but my city friends were not satisfied, and insisted that the business should be taken up as a cabinet question. It was agreed, accordingly, that a deputation of the merchants should be received by Lord Londonderry and himself at the Foreign Office. At the interview, the merchants had certainly the best of the argument, which, after a very patient hearing, induced Lord Londonderry to say, "Gentlemen, come again next year, when (alluding to the government) we shall be more in our senses." In the course of a few days subsequent, his Lordship sealed his own doom, and our chairman lamentably consummated a similar fate.

early attention was paid, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, in due time, personally informed me, that an abatement of duty would be granted upon my petition, and referred me to the Board of Trade.

This boon to the province was gratifying, but, before going to the Board of Trade, I inquired at the Colonial Office if any news from Upper Canada had been received, and heard that a representation had come from the legislature, recommending an abatement of the duty on tobacco, to the amount of threepence halfpenny per pound.

This intelligence disconcerted me, for never imagining that "the Wrongheads" of Upper Canada would specify any abatement, I had anticipated from the success of my application a far more considerable diminution, but the government could concede no more than was solicited, and accordingly the recommendation of the House of Assembly, for threepence halfpenny per pound, was immediately granted, and all my fine scheme for stirring up the trade at home to obtain a proper amount of reduction, was blown into the air; nor can I imagine yet, how the colonial legislature thought of prescribing the amount of the abatement, but strange things do sometimes happen in public affairs, from subjects as well as statesmen. At this moment the West Indians are talking of

the vast revenue which their trade yields to the state, forgetting altogether that the consumer indemnifies them for the advances that are made, on account of the sugar duties.

Seeing, by my endeavours to acquire a knowledge of the resources of the province, for the purposes already mentioned, that a wide field lay open to me for the introduction of new articles, when I arrived in the country, I set myself in the intervals of business to attend to the pursuit, and in consequence brought vines from a nursery-man in New York, and planted a small vineyard, which, though once flourishing, has of course gone to wreck. I recollected also, that, in the year 1759, cotton had been cultivated with success at Detroit, and resolving to try what might be done with it further east, sowed a cotton field on the Mountain. Having likewise, by a variety of experiments, ascertained that the maple sugar could be made as beautiful, and refined as purely, as the Muscovado of the West Indies, I directed an avenue of young maples to be planted, leading towards the spot fixed upon for my house to be in time raised; but this too is doubtless an abortion. I had also another scheme, in which nothing was done. I mention it, however, here, that some one may hereafter profit by the hint.

Among many curious plants and shrubs, and

trees, which were to be met with in the woods, the mulberry was found, and it instantly occurred to me, that the introduction of the cultivation of silk might become an object of consideration, although the severity of the climate, in winter, seemed to present an insurmountable obstacle. I called to mind, however, the devices of the two friars, who brought the worm first from China into Greece, and persuaded myself, that if the tree on which it fed was indigenous, the means might be found to nourish the worms and protect the cacoons. I say nothing of dreams about the cultivation of madder and barilla, which have vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision.

But of all the schemes with which my brain was then hiving, the localities suggested a plan that may be tried in any land.

I thought the lakes and quiet streams were not formed merely to beautify the landscape and suggest poetry, and was in consequence led, by hearing every where of the value of running streams and falling waters, or water privileges, as the Americans call them, to think where so much was to be seen, it ought not to be difficult to discover a mode of applying its power to mechanical purposes.

The practicability of this notion haunted me in my sylvan ruminations, and at last I hit upon

what seemed as important a discovery as steam to myself, and it occurred to me, that to make an excavation in the banks, wherever water might be found, like a dry dock for example, and to build within it two mills, one for ordinary purposes, and the other to pump out the water, would supply the desideratum, for it would then be only necessary to conduct a stream to the first mill, which being set agoing by it, the same water might be led on to the second on a lower level, and by its working pumped out again into the lake *. But, like my old friend, Mr. Thomson, the engineer, I may now say, " What is the use of my inventing." These things, however, serve to show the occasional current of my thoughts, when, besides my duties as superintendent for the Canada Company, I had leisure to think of other matters, at a period when a book was rarely in my hands, and rarer still a pen for composition.

* The practicability of raising a stream of water back to its fountain head after it has set a mill a-going, by machinery on the principle of the forcing pump, may soon be tried. But possibly there exists a power in nature which may be applied with more simplicity. Between the pressure of the atmosphere, which forces water to rise in vacuum, and the attraction of the earth, this power may exist.

CHAPTER VII.

Resume personal narrative.—Journey to Lake Huron.—Lost ourselves at midnight in the forest, sixty miles from a known habitation.—Alarming adventure.—Scene at Goderich.—Adieu.

The season of the year, winter, having necessarily suspended all out of door undertakings, I was spared from explaining the cause of the idleness around me; the result of my preparations to return to England. Past and performed transactions may be openly spoken of, but the unborn progeny of the future, are things which should be treated with circumspection.

Aware that my determination to return would probably terminate my superintendency, though not in dismissal, I did not choose that any one should be able to quote my intentions from me, and therefore prepared for the voyage as for a temporary excursion. At the same time, to myself, every transaction was conclusive, and with this secret feeling, I resolved to visit the new settlement at Goderich, by the road through the forest.

Accordingly, having made the necessary arrangements, I took my departure from Guelph for Lake Huron, in a sleigh. In the journey itself there was nothing to render it different from ordinary travelling in the woods; for at convenient distances a species of log taverns were erected, and the accommodations, though rude, were still such as took the chill, if the expression may be used, off the wilderness. I could not, however, but consider myself as arrived at the summit of my destiny, and it was not pleasant to think I had found there nothing but vexation of spirit.

My employment, as superintendent of the Canada Company, though not unmixed with the usual alloy which attends and troubles all human affairs, was congenial to my humour. I could desire none better, and though I may not be credited, had no wish for a lot of greater splendour. For my tasks were so evidently calculated to lessen the mass of afflictions, that, however teasing in the performance, they could not be contemplated without vivid delight. The emoluments were no doubt respectable, but I have ever regarded pecuniary matters as subordinate, and at that crisis, if a thought gravitated down towards them, it was but for a moment, when I remembered my children.

At the hazard of appearing somewhat ridiculous by the disclosure, still it will be by some rea-

dily believed, that a stronger proof of the pleasure I took in my duties cannot be adduced, than when I say that my literary propensities were suspended, during my residence in Upper Canada, not from resolution, but because I had more interesting pastime. With me book-making has always been a secondary pursuit, arising from a facility in composition. I did then think myself qualified to do something more useful that "stringing blethers into rhyme," or writing clishmaclavers in a closet.

However, during my journey to the lonely shores of Lake Huron, I had time, as I sat solitary in the sleigh, to chew the cud of bitter thought. I felt myself unworthily treated, for every thing I had touched was prosperous, and my endeavours to foster the objects of my care were all flourishing, and, without the blight of one single blossom, gave cheering promises of ample fruit.

Profit to the Company, which I saw would come of course, was less my object than to build in the wilderness an asylum for the exiles of society—a refuge for the fleers from the calamities of the old world and its systems fore-doomed.

In the course of the journey, a heavy fall of snow, which often wreathed itself to impassable heights in the forest glade of the new road, obliged the sleighs to deviate into the woods, and

we lost, in consequence, our way for some time. It was then near midnight, and the situation gave

"Ample room and verge enough"

to the necromancy of the imagination. We were about sixty miles within the depth of the primeval forest. The moonlight only served to show the falling flakes of snow. All around was silence, and the winds slept even in the branches. We halted, where, by a strange glare reflected from the ground, we seemed in the spacious court of a college, solemn with overshadowing trees.

To proceed, or to remain till daylight, was about to be discussed, when the noise as of some huge wading animal arose, coming towards us. We had no arms. Presently a hoarse voice, uttering maledictions becoming an Italian bandit, was heard; but that which would have struck "terror to the soul of Richard" in the mountains of Abruccio, gave us courage. The sounds proceeded from teams with provisions, going our way, and fortunately they had not wandered; but the incident, which no telling can make awful, was truly sublime. We soon after reached one of the receiving houses, where we stopt for the remainder of the night.

When we arrived at Goderich, I took up my

lodgings in the same log house where I had staid with Dr. Dunlop when formerly there, in the course of the exploring expedition by the Bee.

The landscape was now covered with snow, and Lake Huron with ice, as far as the eye could reach; but the scene had undergone a greater change than even that produced by the procession of the seasons. A large portion of the spot, allotted for the town, was cleared of the trees, several houses were built, and the whole aspect of the place, owing to these social circumstances and the beautiful cheerfulness of the situation, was uncommonly inviting.

Next day the wind blew so violently that I was obliged to keep within doors—the snow dry and penetrating, drifted with afflicting acerbity; but since I had been there before, news were to be collected, if those can be called such which related to, merely, better acquaintance with the neighbouring woods.

The following morning, bright and calm, was spent in viewing the localities and the progress made in the settlement; but although not aware that anything was left unexamined, my eyes were cursory and myself listless; for it was not likely I should ever be there again—and let a man nerve himself ever so resolutely, there is sadness in a final thought, especially if, as in my case, it be at-

tended with regrets and darkening prospects. Indignant reflections may appease farewell, nor was I without that acrid palliative.

The Canada Company had originated in my suggestions, it was established by my endeavours, organized, in disregard of many obstacles, by my perseverance, and, though extensive and complicated in its scheme, a system was formed by me upon which it could be with ease conducted. Yet without the commission of any fault, for I dare every charge of that kind, I was destined to reap from it only troubles and mortifications, and something which I feel as an attempt to disgrace me.

While my spirit was seething on the shores of Lake Huron, I could not refrain from thinking of one littleness very obvious. The Huron tract contained about sixteen hundred square miles, and it was divided into townships, after naming one for each of the Directors, there were three or four over, and these were called after men in offiee. To this certainly there could be no objection; but I confess it seemed to me to proceed from a lurking feeling of unprovoked contumely that I should have been passed over. It is, however, one of those things which the Directors can best account for. I am content with having formed the Company—nor am I the first parent that has had unfilial offspring.

Had the Company been one of those sordid concerns of which profit is the sole object, I would not say so much; but as it was fraught with benevolence, calculated to assuage distress in the mother country, and to improve the condition of the victims which that pressure forced to emigrate, I repine to see it sunk into a mere land-jobbing huxtry, and abortive in all the promises, but the payment, by which the government was induced to part with the lands.

My adieu to Lake Huron was a final farewell; for, from the moment I lost sight of its waters, I considered my connexion with the Company as closed. Reason, certainly, with its habitual plausibility, endeavoured to persuade me that this was a fallacious presentiment, and that I did wrong, to honourable men, in thinking it possible that they could be accessary to the ruin and degradation of an individual. And for what? That is to be explained.

CHAPTER VIII.

Speak of departure.—Conduct of the settlers.—Leave Guelph.—Letter in my behalf from the Lieutenant Governor to the Secretary of State.—Reach New York.—Hear of my being superseded.—Arrival at Liverpool.—Reach London.—Consequences.

Soon after my return to Guelph, I spoke openly of my departure for England, without, however, communicating the conclusion to which so many circumstances had led me, namely, that there must be a determination somewhere to break up the Company, and previously to get rid of me, an apprehended obstacle to the scheme.

My own mind acquitted me of intentional error, and the evidences of prosperity around, were proof that I had not been injudicious: but my treatment of the settlers seemingly might have afforded some ground to fear lest I had given offence to them, for it is needless to say, that a society in which the restless and discontented probably predominate, is not easily managed. In this, however, I was agreeably disappointed; for in the morning I had fixed for my departure, they came in a body, in front of the house, and presented an address expressive of their thankfulness for my

treatment of themselves, and their good wishes for my own return. For ceremonies of this sort I have no particular veneration, but, I confess, the circumstances in which I was placed, and the presentiment which oppressed me, rendered this unexpected compliment gratifying.

I left Guelph after breakfast, and proceeded to York on business, arising from irregularities of some of the clerks*; directing my servant to make the best of his way with our luggage to Albany.

While at York, Sir John Colborne, the lieutenant-governor, had the kindness to write to the Secretary of State in favourable terms respecting me.

I crossed the lake and hastened on with what speed I could to New York, where the consul informed me that I was superseded by another gentleman; indeed he had the goodness to tell me something of this sort, in a letter which I had received on the evening before I left Guelph, but which then, as I was on the point of starting for England, excited no particular emotion. I could not, however, but discern that this appointment of a successor indicated a disposition to

* Owing to the unaccountable manner in which I was left alone to organize so complicated a concern, I had seventeen clerks at different times, who, with the exception of three or four, were cashiered, or suspended, or changed.

find me in fault; I still think so; nor was the resentment it excited mitigated by the inferences I had drawn.

Had not Mr. Buchanan stopped here, I would have acknowledged myself ever greatly obliged to him, but he concealed the intimation, made in a letter to himself, that my dismissal was final, and allowed me to leave my family in the woods of America, though he went the passage to England with me in the same ship; he probably meant kindly, but it was as mawkish as it was mistaken, for although a friendly feeling might dictate the proceeding and excuse its committal, it was, and is, regarded by me as an error of judgment.

On my arrival at Liverpool I learned, not certainly with consternation, that the Company was to be broken up, and that its inability to go on had been announced. I could learn nothing more, but there was enough in this communication to make me resolve to discover, if possible, the grounds of a measure that I had so anticipated, and which was so curiously, by a circuitous route, coming to pass.

On arriving in London, I went to the Canada House as a matter of course, but, as it was not a court day, obtained no satisfaction. Mr. M'Gillivray, who acted in my absence, merely inquired if I had received the despatches with which my suc-

cessor was charged, and after some short conversation he was obliged to leave me, not, however, till his manner had impressed my jealousy with something unsatisfactory. I say this, because I am not conscious that there had been any occurrence between him and me, that could have warranted his evident dryness. On the contrary, I considered him as a particular friend, and the want of cordiality on this occasion was obvious. Next morning I went to Mr. Downie, of Appin, to breakfast, who was then in parliament, and one of the Canada Company's Directors. In his manner I could discern no change, but jocular and friendly as usual, he did not appear to think the dismissal final; he only considered me recalled by the will of the proprietors, obliging the Directors to obey. His information perplexed me, and I resolved to make no farther inquiry till the next court day.

My reception by the court was not remarkable, only I mentioned that it was strange they should think of such a disparaging measure as an abrupt dismissal, when in possession of my letter announcing my intended return. To this, one of the Directors, an old friend, made some observation, as if the circumstance of having received that letter had been overlooked; it might be so, but the remark passed unnoticed by the other gentlemen present.

I determined, however, to be present at an im-

pending meeting of the proprietors, and if blame was imputed to me, to vindicate myself on the spot. That meeting was, however, skilfully conducted. The whole character and effect and importance of my proceedings were kept out of view, but the general balance of my own accounts fairly enough stated. I would, perhaps, be doing wrong to ascribe this to any design, I was now, however, all eye, and could not but think that every thing meritorious was kept out of view, especially as the balance, which was of all my accounts, including the expenses of the office as well as of the settlements, was made conspicuous, leaving an impression that my expenditure had been lavish and inconsiderate. I do not say that the statement was meant to produce this effect, but I thought it was, and assert, in defiance of contradiction, that it was calculated to produce it.

In the Appendix the accounts are stated, and the excess of expenditure at Guelph, for which four thousand pounds were allowed, will be seen did not exceed that sum so much as seven hundred pounds, including forfeitures, although the progress of the settlement had been rapid, far beyond the most sanguine expectations; had I doubled the four thousand pounds, it would have been well laid out money. Nor was it supposed, when I

went abroad, that the Company was to be sunk into a mere land jobbing speculation.

The general meeting was conclusive, and from private sources I learned that there was some negociation going on, between the Company and the government, which had for its object to persuade the government to take back the lands. I had my suspicion that particular parties might step in and buy them, but this I resolved to prevent, not that I thought there was any thing very wrong in the transaction, because if the proprietors receded from paying up their capital, what else could be done, and why should wiser men forbear to pick up "the pearl" cast away; at the same time I did think the proprietors impressed with a ruinous opinion of the concern by some sinister misrepresentation.

Acting upon the principle of resistance to the machination, which I conceived to be visible, I exhorted particular friends not to sell their stock, and tried to repress the panic among them, but my advice was disregarded, and I could not but ascribe the inattention with which I was heard, as one of the effects of my dismissal.

My efforts were not, however, restrained by the rebuff. I begged a friend to ascertain the effect, in the Colonial Office, of Sir John Colborne's letter,

and the answer being satisfactory, I next day solicited an audience of Sir George Murray, then Secretary of State, and represented to him my opinion of the Company. What ensued was not important, but his manner left no doubt upon my mind, that the question of taking back the lands and charter depended on a contingency, that contingency, my awakened suspicion made me suppose, was a reference to Sir John Colborne, and I had no doubt he would recommend the acceptance of the proposal. I have since ascertained that this was the very course pursued, and that to the consternation of those who had so strenuously achieved my ruin, he recommended the resumption of the lands. The effect of his answer, as communicated through Sir George Murray to the Court of Directors, rendered hopeless the machination which so many circumstances made me think probable; and the proprietors have to thank Sir John Colborne, that, instead of gloating over their high priced stock, as they are now doing with chuckling, they are not seen going about the Exchange with their fingers in their mouth, and their eyes watering.

CHAPTER IX.

A letter from my sister.—Her arrival in London.—Troubles.

In the midst of this "ravelled skein of care" I received a letter from my sister, in answer to mine announcing my arrival, mentioning her intention to take a jaunt for the summer with her daughter, and delicately enquiring if it would be agreeable to me to bring her to London. I was then in one of my absent fits, and delighted with the prospect of seeing them, forgot my troubles, and instantly invited them to come.

There was rashness in this, and it was soon repented; for I had it not in my power to pay them ordinary attention, and the circumstances with which I had been superseded, justified me in waiting to see how old intimates would act towards me.

The journey to London, though kindly undertaken, was, perhaps, not altogether on my account. My niece had received a legacy of three thousand pounds from her paternal grandfather, which, with

other inheritances and prospects, made her fortune so considerable, that her mother, with the far forecasting spirit of the Scottish nation, thought it entitled her to see something of the world, not for any good that was to be met with, of course, in Vanity Fair, but that by beholding the general nothingness, she might be the better pleased with the quiet seclusion of her future life.

Scarcely had they arrived in town, when the natural effects of my recall began to manifest themselves, by applications for the payment of two accounts. I had left, as I have mentioned, authority with the accountant of the Canada Company to receive payment of a thousand pounds a year of my salary to discharge, in the first place, these and other small accounts, and I had drawn upon him for a half-yearly payment for the education of my three sons, who were at Reading school, with one of my oldest acquaintances in England, the well known Rev. Dr. Valpy.

The bill had been sent by me to the accountant to be transmitted, when accepted, to the reverend doctor, but it was not so done; and accordingly, soon after my arrival, before I knew well where I was, I received a letter from the doctor, requesting payment. At that time I could only beg him to give me a little indulgence, and I thought to

him this request might be made, because he was not only a personal friend of twenty-five years' standing, but had been for about forty years a partner with my wife's father. Soon after my letter I received a formal demand for payment from his solicitors. This sharp practice was none blunted to the sense by the excoriation that my other misfortunes had previously produced. The answer was similar to what I had given to the doctor himself, and was followed by an arrest. This was perfectly legal. I had, as plain as the sun at noon day, incurred the penalty, and in such cases, though the debt was undisputed,

"The law allows it and the court awards."

The incident, however, only verified the proverb, which says, "it never rains but it pours." By giving the necessary bail, I fortunately had not occasion to inform my sister till that was done, but it undoubtedly hastened her departure from town.

When the writ was returnable I determined to surrender; still, however, hoping, that when the doctor saw me so resolute he would order "the gore-dropping fangs of the law" to be relaxed. I was mistaken.

Before, however, finally resolving on any thing, I conceived it but right to beg he would relent in

his proceedings; for he is a man of sagacity enough to discern that the law of arrest is criminal in its provisions, against such as are prevented by misfortune from paying just debts.

At this crisis of perplexities, the accountant distributed among the share-holders the untrue pamphlet alluded to, which only verified my conceptions of his morbid vanity. Those passages in which he attacked me, required an answer, and although not in a condition to give it properly, I made the attempt. Had I been in less trouble, the scorpions of the scourge might have shewn themselves more exasperated. As it was, I made no scruple of employing the right epithets for the actions, and to give them emphasis, placed the words between inverted commas; for although not apt to act according to the motto of my country — "Nemo me impune lacessit" — there are occasions when, in my opinion, if it be not Christian to do so, it is at least human, especially when a man desires to provoke a reply. A copy of my pamphlet was sent to the different proprietors, and some of my particular friends. But to return to the personal narrative.

As I had by this time ascertained, that independent of a security given for my chief debt, and several farms in Canada sufficient for the others, I was only embarrassed to about the arrears of an

annuity of three hundred pounds, [that though irregularly paid, I had long counted on,] I saw what was in my power; and pride was appeased by the consideration that I had always made more than I expended, and that it was entirely owing to others not fulfilling their engagements to me, I had ever suffered any perplexity in money matters. I therefore submitted to the insolvent act.

To some persons the mention of such a step would be disagreeable, nor is it to me a boast of pride; but the consciousness of not being forced to it by extravagance in living or imprudent speculation in business, mitigates the mortifying reflection, especially when it is recollected that the moral obligation can never be removed till the debt is paid. The law, indeed, is advantageous to debtors by exempting them from arrest, and giving them the power of determining in their own minds, after the discharge, who shall be first paid. Nor was its operation without beneficial influence on me. I felt my independence augmented, by looking at poverty undismayed at her emaciation. I had, however, "given hostages to society," and was no longer at liberty to consult my own wishes, and therefore immediately began to build a new scheme of life, in which the secondary condition of authorship was thus made primary.

This transaction and winding up of my phi-

lanthropic dream is stated with as little emotion as possible, but it was not so felt. I shall not, however, make any further attempt to draw upon the sympathy of the reader.

EPOCH EIGHTH.

CHAPTER I.

Lawrie Todd.--Southennan.—Think of emigrating.—Two kindly circumstances.—Life of Lord Byron.

ALTHOUGH supported by the consciousness of having acted properly, in a crisis of my life most trying to one of my temperament, I yet retired from the arena of business with the sullenness of a vanquished bull. Aware how such things are received by the world, I thought myself capable of acting a negative part, and resolved to devote myself to the sedentary pursuits of literature; not even to renew any acquaintance whatever with former associates, except with the members of my own family, unless there was some demonstration on their part.

This morose feeling was probably natural to the circumstances, and for some time I adhered to my stubborn determination, completing in as satis-

factory a state of misanthropy as I could well work myself into, the novel of Lawrie Todd.

As I have explained in the preface to a late edition, dictated from my bed, the story is not altogether fictitious, at least in the earlier parts, but in the course of writing it I had frequent reminiscences of former enjoyments, which have made it seemingly very true; but an author is not the best judge of his own inventions.

When Lawrie Todd was finished, I commenced the novel of Southennan, in which I have endeavoured to embody scenes and fancies of my youth with an antiquarian description of Scottish manners in the reign of Queen Mary. A lucubration not sufficiently appreciated, while the work, by its historical characters, has been regarded too much as a mere romance. Indeed, I have several times had a shrewd suspicion, that my obsolete lore and knowledge, have never been valued at their worth, notwithstanding my endeavour to follow with great strictness that rule of art which requires from the historical painter, not only accuracy of costume and character, but precision in the exhibitions of still life.

The origin of Southennan is, to myself at least, interesting. At a short distance on the south side of the village of Fairlie, in Ayrshire, stands the ruins of the ancient house of Southennan. I know

nothing whatever of its history, but was told in my boyhood a vague tradition, which had something mysterious about it, and which still lingers in my recollection; namely, that the house belonged to a branch of the ancient noble family of Semple; that the last inhabitants had been Roman Catholics, who went away into Spain at the period of the Reformation, and that they were never more heard of. In riper years I was on the point of hearing a more authentic story from a gentleman who lived in the neighbourhood, but I stopped him in the beginning of the recital, for I saw it would dispel the phantasms with which the old legend had peopled my imagination; as he began by telling me that it had been formerly a nunnery, the obvious inference from which was, that the sisterhood had gone into Spain. However, I did not choose to hear this prosaic item of a chronicle, and have continued to this day to cherish my early dreams about Southennan, undisturbed by any matter of fact; pausing occasionally in the journeys of my juvenility between Irvine and Greenock, to ponder of strange things amidst the solitude of the ruins.

The situation is lone and picturesque, at the foot of a green mountain, on a little plain spreading to the sea, with a garden extending southwards, which in my imagination is still in blossom, as if I saw it in the spring of the year. I could

draw the landscape still, though years and days and sadder things have happened to me since I was there.

There is no accounting for the manner in which some incidents become to the mind more interesting than others, and I cannot explain why the obscure story about the wandering away into Spain of the papistical Semples should have been so mysteriously wonderful to me; but they have always been so, and from the days of my dramatic propensities, have interested my imagination. Once, long ago, I began to compose something most tragical of the heir's return, resembling in its incidents Lord Byron's Lara.

While engaged in writing Southennan, I became occasionally tired of literature, and as my family were still in Canada and the season for recalling them coming on, I began to feel its influences stirring me to activity. It thus happened, that one morning, as the old ballad which describes the conquest of France by Henry V. says,

> "As the king lay musing on his bed,
> He bethought himself upon a time,
> Of a tribute that was due him from France,
> Which had not been paid for so long a time"—

I recalled to mind how I had been frustrated in my hopes by the malappropriation of the money to be paid to Government by the Canada

Company, and I thought that if they would give me a grant of land in compensation, I would emigrate. Accordingly, I went immediately after breakfast and called upon Lord ———, who had been always extremely kind to me, and requested his lordship to speak of my object to Sir George Murray, the Secretary of State, with whom I supposed he had naturally some influence. His lordship, with the utmost alacrity, walked afterwards with me to Downing Street, and saw Sir George; but he was unsuccessful, which obliged me to submit to my fate.

In the course of a few days after, Mr. Ellice called upon me on his way to the House of Commons, and invited me to dinner with so much friendliness, that it required some effort to maintain on my part the old reciprocal ease. His visit was the first that I received from all my old acquaintances, and I hope it will not be soon forgotten.

Sick of composition, gratified by the alacrity of Lord ———, and truly so by the visit of Mr. Ellice, I began to feel a sort of moral-galvanic energy, and turned my thoughts into their former habitudes, but saw no feasible object to which they could be directed. I began, however, insensibly to shake off my drowse, and wrote for my family,

conscious from what I knew of myself, that I would soon find something to do.

In this state of things, Messrs. Colburn and Bentley, the Booksellers, proposed that I should undertake to write the Life of Lord Byron, to which I readily agreed, and the result is the book in the hands of the public. But connected with it are many things that require to be discussed deliberately in another chapter, for few books have been more severely and coarsely condemned ;— as few towards which approbation has been more decidedly expressed. The latter feeling, however, respecting the work, begins to prevail, and the former will, probably, ultimately be extinguished ; for it is a memoir which says all the good that can be said of an extraordinary man, written by one who had some opportunities of observing his qualities, and who shut his ear and his heart alike to the flatteries of his friends, and the detractions of his enemies. It was impossible to conceal that he had a capricious temper, and was actuated by a curious sinister egotism ; but, withal, he was possessed of rare talents, and with them much of that magnanimity which is ever associated with genius.

CHAPTER II.

Doubts of Byron's originality.—Plagiarisms from Pickersgill.—Plagiarisms complained of by Mr. Moore.—Verses by Mr. Moore.

When the Life of Byron was written, I entertained a higher opinion of his originality than I do now, for I am reduced to the alternative of considering him as one of the most extraordinary plagiarists in literature, unless it can be shown that he is the author of a four volume novel, from which the incidents, colouring, names, and characters, of his most renowned productions are derived. The circumstances are these :—

Some time after the publication of my memoir of his life, Mrs. Thomas Sheridan, in allusion to the manner in which I had spoken in it respecting Byron's peculiar genius, mentioned to me, that if I would look into an old romance, called the "Three Brothers," written by one Pickersgill, the use Lord Byron had made of it, would surprise me.

Next day I procured a copy, and observed, before looking at the contents, various notes and

scrawls, implying a belief on the part of the writer of them, that the work itself might have been a juvenile production of his lordship. On perusal, the coincidences of thought and invention were wonderful, and it exhibited that singular hue of gloomy fancy, his distinguishing characteristic. As I proceeded, the internal evidence greatly supported the hypothesis.

On looking at the volumes, it was evidently a youthful effusion; the first consisted of only two hundred and thirty pages, the second increased to three hundred, the third was no less than four hundred and sixty-eight, and the fourth four hundred and sixty-two: a work so divided did not much look like the production of a person come to years of discretion. Not, however, at that time having leisure myself to pursue the investigation, I deemed it so curious, that I wrote respecting it to a friend, and requested him to examine, at his leisure, the book, which he did, and the result of his lucubration is in the Appendix, republished from the Monthly Magazine.

My friend thinks that he has discovered who Pickersgill was—and, certainly, at the conclusion of the fourth volume, there is a passage which shews that the author was four years older than Lord Byron; but if he was not the same, the similarity of his mind is the most extraordinary.

The novel of the "Three Brothers" is so odious, in passages however powerful, that I could not read it with any pleasure, but whoever will take the trouble to dip into it, (particularly the fourth volume,) will have no doubt with me, that if Pickersgill and Byron were not one and the same boy, it exhibits a most wonderful intellectual resemblance.

If his lordship were not the author of the "Three Brothers," it is strange that he should have made no scruple of using the names as well as the thoughts. It is true that his lordship, in a note prefixed to his "Deformed Transformed," says, that it is derived from the "Three Brothers," from which Mr. Lewis constructed the "Wood Demon;" but the manner in which he speaks of it proves nothing: on the contrary, it is so coldly alluded to, that one could never imagine he had made such extraordinary use of it, if it be the production of another.

I have since, however, obtained additional light on this curious matter. One day Lady S—— happened to call when I was considering the subject, and I mentioned to her ladyship how much it interested me, saying I could not but think the romance of the "Three Brothers," was a work by "George Gordon, Lord Byron, a minor;" when, to my surprise, she mentioned that a

friend of hers had a similar suspicion, and was so inclined to believe it well founded, that he inquired of Lord Byron himself if he had seen the book. His lordship did not give a direct answer, but speaking of it disparagingly, showed that it was not unknown to him.

In making this statement, I am actuated by something like an author's feeling, in consequence of some notice of me by Byron himself, which Moore, in his Life, has mentioned, with other gossipry that it would not have derogated from his wisdom to have suppressed. The first memorandum alluded to is:—

"Galt called, to ask some one to speak to Raymond in favour of his play *. We are old fellow-travellers, and, with all his eccentricities, he has much strong sense, experience of the world, and, as far as I have seen, a good-natured philosophical fellow. I showed him Sligo's letter

* This was an alteration of the "Bondman" of Massinger, which I made in consequence of some conversation with Bartley. The manuscript had gone amissing, and being acquainted with Byron, who was of the Drury Lane Committee, I asked him to speak to Raymond about it. It says but little for the Committee that a play of Massinger's should have been irrecoverably lost. I have no particular recollection now of what were the alterations, but I think they were chiefly confined to a condensation of the dialogue, with a few verbal corrections here and there. However, the fact that a manuscript of one of the best of Massinger's plays being lost by the Committee, requires no comment.

on the reports of the Turkish girl's *aventure* at Athens, soon after it happened. He, Lord Holland, Lewis, Moore, and Rogers, and Lady Melbourne have seen it. Murray has a copy. I thought it had been unknown, and wish it were; but Sligo arrived only some days after, and the rumours are the subject of his letter. That I shall preserve; it is as well. Lewis and Galt were both horrified."*

The second memorandum is—

"Galt says there is a coincidence between the first part of the Bride and some story of his, whether published or not I know not, never having seen it. He is almost the last person on whom any one would commit a literary larceny, and I am not conscious of any *witting* thefts on any of the genus; as to originality, all pretensions are ludicrous, there is nothing new under the sun."

Vol. I. page 580.

And the third—

"Sunday, December 12th, 1813.

"By Galt's answer I find it is some story in real life, and not any work, with which my late composition coincides—it is still more singular, for mine is drawn from existence also."

* This refers to the incident on which the story of the Giaour is founded.—I knew the Turkish girl; she was very coarse, really more so than "the Maid of Athens."

In writing the life I had forgot the circumstance; but in rummaging among my papers for this work, I discovered an original note of Lord Byron's, written at the time, and on the very subject, which he deemed so important as to record, and Mr. Moore to give to the public. It is as follows :—

"Decr. 10th, 1813.

"MY DEAR GALT,

"The coincidence, I assure you, is a most unintentional and unconscious one; nor have I even a guess where or when, or in what manner, it exists. It is rather odd there is a Mr. Semple, who, I have since heard, wrote a prose story like it *; but on its being pointed out to me, the resemblance was so slight as to become almost imperceptible—at least in my eyes; further than that there were two lovers who died.

"Be that as it may, I certainly had read no work of his or yours when this story was written that at all contained the likeness, or suggested the idea. I had a living character in my eye for *Zuleika*;—but what is still more extraordinary, a living poet† writes to me, that I have actually *anticipated* a tale he had ready for the press, and which he admits it is impossible I could ever have seen or heard of in its details.

* The Bride of Abydos.

† Mr. Moore, with reference to "Lalla Rookh."

"Raymond has heard from me, and has promised an answer. He shall be jogged again if this won't do.

"Any thing that I can do in accelerating your pursuits shall be done readily and with pleasure, by, ever yours,

"BYRON."

"John Galt, Esq."

The queerest thing of all, however, in this proof that murder will out, is, that Mr. Moore himself is the poet alluded to by Byron, in the letter respecting the Bride of Abydos. To go further with a curious matter; my tale of the Omen, written long after, is founded on the circumstance which I stated to his Lordship, and which has been the cause of this ado. It was reviewed by Sir Walter Scott.

The bringing to light the secret of such an allegation, as Byron, in his spleen, seems to have thought the imputation of borrowing from me, was to the disparagement of his genius, is amusing enough, but that the proclaimer of his Lordship's indignation, should have, himself, on the very same occasion, acted the same part that I did, is very diverting *. I am malicious enough to rejoice at this discovery, because I owe Mr. Moore something for attacking me in verse, in which I am no

* I wonder if Mr. Moore knows any thing of an Irish translation of Anacreon, so like his own, that wicked people have thought that more might be said about it than has been.

match for him, for using an idea, which he himself first sported in an oration at a public dinner on the 18th of March, 1822, in answer to a compliment from the late Marquis of Londonderry. I mean the immortalization of insects in amber, but to be sure, the speech was spoken after dinner.

However, I am really a very great admirer of Mr. Moore, and I hope he will be kind enough to laugh at this; for, in truth, I am like the Frenchman whom Louis the XVth once met in a crowd, who afterwards boasted to his friends that the king had spoken to him. "That is a great honour," said they; "what did he say to you?" "He bade me," replied the man, "be so good as to stand out of the way." *

* Among other acetous spirits by whom my Life of Byron was attacked, Mr. Moore does not stand unsuspected. In a Dublin newspaper appeared the following *jeu d' esprit.*

"ALARMING INTELLIGENCE.

"REVOLUTION IN THE DICTIONARY—ONE GALT AT THE HEAD OF IT!

"God preserve us!—there's nothing now safe from assault;
Thrones toppling around—churches brought to the hammer,
And accounts have just reached us, that one Mr. Galt
Has declared open war against English and Grammar!

"He had long been suspected of some such design,
And the better his wicked intents to arrive at,
Had lately 'mong C-lb-n's troops of *the line*
(The penny-a-line men) enlisted as private.

" There schooled, with a rabble of words at command,
Scotch, English, and slang in promiscuous alliance,
He, at length, against Syntax has taken his stand,
And sets all the nine parts of Speech at defiance.

" Next advices, no doubt, further facts will afford ;
In the meantime the danger most imminent grows ;
He has taken the Life of one eminent lord,
And whom he 'll *next* murder, the Lord only knows."

" *Wednesday evening.*

" Since our last, matters luckily look more serene ;—
Tho' the rebel, 'tis stated, to aid his defection,
Has seized a great powder—no !—puff Magazine,
And th' explosions are dreadful in every direction !

" What his meaning exactly is, nobody knows,
As he talks (in a strain of intense botheration)
Of lyrical ' ichor' *, ' gelatinous '† prose,
And a mixture called ' amber immortalization '‡.

" *Now* he raves of a bard, he once happen'd to meet,
Seated high among ' rattlings ', and ' churming ' a sonnet § ;
Now talks of a mystery wrapped in a sheet,
With a halo (by way of a night-cap) upon it ‖ !

" We shudder in tracing these terrible lines ;—
Something bad they must mean, tho' we can't make it out ;
For, whate'er may be guess'd of Galt's secret designs,
That they 're all *anti*-English no Christian can doubt."

" * That dark diseased ichor which coloured his effusions.—*Galt's Life of Byron.*"

" † That gelatinous character of their effusions.—*Id.*"

" ‡ The poetical embalmment, or rather amber immortalization.—*Id.*"

" § Sitting amidst the shrouds and rattlings, churming an inarticulate melody.—*Id.*"

" ‖ He was a mystery in a winding-sheet, crowned with a halo.—*Id.*"

At some risk of sparring with such an experienced hand, I replied :—

TIT FOR TAT.

I.

What the devil !—no, no, it cannot be true,—
Tommy Little, a Dublin dominie !—poh !—
He can sing about flowers, ripe lips, and green bowers,—
Is it sing that I said ?—he 's the boy that can *low*.

II.

To stand on a stool, like a duck on a stone,
By the sweet-smelling Liffy, and threaten in alt,—
No—no, sir, 'tis " fudge " * ; he may groan, growl, and grudge ;—
With his birch on a barrel he couldn't reach Galt†.

III.

'Tis true, he is not, in all other respects,
Unfit for the office :—I grant it at once.—
There 's Anacreon—yes ! My God ! what is this ?
You blush ! but he never *did* steal‡ from a dunce.

IV.

I own that such clusters of lilies and roses
The cheerful old Greek would have sneezed at as snuff ;
But the work now supplies trunks, tartlets, and pies,
With the ditties of gay Mr. Moore, to enough.

V.

He murdered that Greek—can his conscience deny,
He 's a criminal direful, audacious, and dread ?
He attempts § the *dear* lives of the friends he survives,—
A buzzing blue-bottle that feeds on the dead.

* A slang term. See Moore's Epistle to Big Ben, The Fudge Family, and The Twopenny Post-bag.

† Galt 's high, and Moore 's low.

‡ Vide the Irish translation of Anacreon alluded to.

§ An old pun of George III., applicable to Moore's works *about* Byron and Sheridan.

VI.

If justice were done, the " gelatinous " * bard
(Like " ichor " that flows from a feculent sore)
Might run his *loose* rhymes, refined for the TIMES,—
The flies that make rampant can never do more.

VII.

As reptiles in bottles, his books on the shelf,—
He may to a lengthened existence aspire,
But in " amber " salvation " immortalization " †,
He can but exist a small thing – a pismire.

VIII.

But, sir, I had almost forgotten to say
That the sorter of shreds with his patches ‡ between,
Is all in the wrong, like a frog with a song,—
His guessings at Fraser § are gropings of spleen.

IX.

A word of advice if I can ere I close
(While pen-guns in vollies around me are cracking):
Of this be you sure,—whether Byron or Moore,—
All quartos are not sold by rhyme-puffs, like blacking ||.

* Gelatinous.—For literal meaning, see Dictionary; for figurative, applied to a thing without sense, as here used, look at many of Mr. Moore's Melodies.

† An allusion to things sometimes seen in amber. Mr. Moore, though he may have read Pope's poems, may never have seen such things.

‡ " A thing of shreds and patches."

§ " Mr. Galt is supposed to be the editor of *Fraser's Magazine*." They do him honour.

|| See Mr. Warren's poetry.

CHAPTER III.

Incidental fracas with Sir John Cam Hobhouse.—Pot versus kettle.—His appearance in Fraser's shop.—The Countess Guicciolli.

THE publication of my Life of Byron was attended with one unpleasant circumstance. From the period I had met Mr. Hobhouse (now Sir John Cam) with his Lordship, my acquaintance with that gentleman had continued; it was not very cordial at any time, but he had talent that ensured respect, and it was desirable to know him; my estimate of his tact and discernment, however, was not in the end, as it appeared, altogether confirmed; I gave him credit for more knowledge of the world than he possessed.

With the favourable inclination which one cannot but feel towards another met in friendless scenes, on Mr. Hobhouse making his *debut* as a public man, I was not apprehensive that he would regard it as an offence, if I made him the subject of a little literary badinage. In consequence, I represented, in the Ayrshire Legatees, a red-hot tory gentleman giving an account of a few whigs,

and, among others, I made him say, as a sterling tory, what he thought of Mr. Hobhouse; it was not my own opinion of the characters on which Andrew Pringle is made to animadvert, but the opinions which I thought the model of Andrew Pringle likely to entertain. Nor had I any reason, for several years after, to think that this description had displeased Mr. Hobhouse, but when I published my Life of Byron, an answer to a note which I had written to him, took the scales from my eyes, and I could not but think it rather odd that for so long a time he should have

"Nursed his wrath to keep it warm"

against me, for taking so great a liberty with him. As the matter was at first not very important, I was disposed myself, to put the best construction on his first letter, and to overlook the very obvious import of its contents. But, somehow, he made more of the matter than I thought was wise, and, finally, I was induced to publish the whole affair as it may be found in Fraser's Magazine. Had the business rested here, I would have taken no other notice of it, but, shortly after the publication, I happened one day to be in Fraser's (the bookseller) inner room, looking at a pamphlet, with the door shut. While there, some person came into the front shop, and I heard by the cold iron

clanking of his voice, that he was remonstrating at something or another. When he went away, Fraser, opening the glass-door, came to me laughing, and mentioned that Mr. Hobhouse had called, in a towering passion, about my publication of Pot *versus* Kettle, and that he complained of the article, which led Fraser to mention that I was in the other room, and he had no doubt would reply to any thing he had to say. Mr. Hobhouse, however, chose to go away, expressing magnificently something about considering me as a bookseller's hack, too insignificant, of course, for his high mightiness to notice.

I was exceedingly glad to have nettled him so much, for two reasons; first, because I had only made Andrew Pringle speak of him quite as mildly as an out-and-out tory could do of one who was supposed to be a whig; and, secondly, because, as Pot *versus* Kettle will shew, he made much ado about nothing.

Some time after, Mr. Ellice invited me to Hoarsly Park, and by a mere accident I missed falling in with Sir John there, for he left it on the day prior to my arrival, and I had been two days later of going than I intended. Since that time, I have never seen him except when he passed me, one day, without recognition, in the park.

In mentioning these circumstances, I am as accurate as my recollection enables me to be, and because, although Sir John is so mightily offended, I do not mean to lessen the cause for his attempt to be so fastidious. At the same time, it gives me no pleasure to have excited such resentment.

But although I probably regretted at the time having incurred so much animosity, in addition to the strictures of the periodical Aristarchuses, the Life of Byron was the means of giving me some pleasure; and when the celebrated Countess Guicciolli and her brother Count Gamba came to England, it gave me a legitimate cause to seek to know them, and opportunities of personally estimating those attractions which were so commonly supposed to be extraordinary.

I found her appearance exactly what a friend described who had seen her in Italy. I had given him a letter to Lord Byron himself, who introduced her to him. She was better, however, than Mr. Leigh Hunt would lead one to suppose, when he speaks of her as "a buxom parlour boarder," although not that "creature of the element" which enamoured report had delighted to adorn. Perhaps I saw her at first to some disadvantage, for she was exposed to a trying contrast by being seated beside the "most gorgeous Lady Blessing-

ton;" * her bust reminded me of the description of Dudu in Don Juan; but her general figure was "of stature low," and, except when sitting, she was not particularly graceful. But, though uncommonly fair, I did not think her beauty very brilliant: she possessed, however, one peculiar charm which must have had great influence on a man of Byron's temperament, much naïveté; I think, in this respect, more than any other young woman I ever met with, scattering remarks of which she did not herself appear sensible of their force and engaging simplicity. In manners, she partook of that ease and temperate gaiety which distinguishes the Italian ladies from those of every other country: but in this she was not in any degree superior to many women here, nor did she evince that hardihood so often assumed by some ladies of fashion about as alluring as fard and rouge. She was, certainly, unaffected without vulgarity, and though always natural, there was occasionally in her naïveté, what the admirers of artificial proprieties might have thought not sufficiently sustained, inflexions liable to be misrepresented by the invidious as allied to silliness: she had, however, none of that quality, yet she may have allowed sayings to escape, sometimes, more pleasing than admirable.

* A title conferred on the Countess by that renowned Greek king the late Dr. Parr.

Her regard for the memory of Lord Byron was openly professed, and by those who knew her best she was deemed sincere; but I have heard it said that she reverenced his Lordship rather too much to love him well: it may be so, but we know that the fondest female affection may exist along with great mental admiration. There was a little seasoning of enthusiasm about the Guicciolli, and the indiscriminate might have imagined the expressions of it as too intellectual to indicate passion.

CHAPTER IV.

Editor of the Courier.—Politics of the paper.—Whigs and Tories.—Qualities of a newspaper editor.—Authors.

WHILE engaged in writing the Life of Lord Byron, Mr. Lockhart, of whose continued friendship in my troubles I must ever retain a very grateful recollection, called one day on me, accompanied by Mr. Murray, the bookseller, to ascertain if the editorship of the Courier would be agreeable, intimating that perhaps it might be obtained. In my unsocial sullenness, and the sudden blight shed on all my hopes, together with my desire to live a recluse life, there was joy in this friendly communication; and the result, after some time, with a visit from Mr. William Stewart, the principal proprietor, led to the appointment.

It did not appear that there was any particular craft requisite to conduct a newspaper, and I knew myself possessed of sources of information, independent of those belonging to the Courier, which might occasionally be of some use. The only kind of scruple that I felt, if such it may be called,

was in thinking the politics of the journal a little too ardent for the spirit of the times, and, in consequence, my first object was to render them more suitable to what I apprehended was the wholesome state of opinion, preparatory to introducing occasionally more of disquisition into the articles. It was obvious that a change of the kind contemplated, did not require to be produced with a flourish of trumpets, and I adopted a gradual and less ostentatious course ; for be it remembered, that any apparent and sudden change in the dogmas of a newspaper, is hazardous to the property embarked in it. Accordingly, without manifesting particular solicitude to make myself remarkable, I began by attempting gradually to alleviate the ultra toryism of the paper, by explanations of more liberality than the sentiments of any party.

In this endeavour, it was some encouragement to proceed, that several of my unobtrusive retractations were approved, without causing any diminution in the circulation of the journal.

All my life I have been, as the reader may see by these pages, a tory, as much as a man could be with whom politics have ever been secondary. But I have been no more so than my temperament made me ; indeed, I have always thought that the innate character had more to do with the distinctive marks of whigs and tories, than the bigots on

either side, in their pride of mind, admit. Probably, owing to this cause, I have never considered the exoteric doctrines of my associates very seriously, at least it has so happened, that my most intimate friends have been all whigs, especially those who had the most in their power by which I might have been benefited. I do not know if it be allied to this peculiar taste, that some of the purest characters I have ever known are Roman catholics, and the most sordid, sectarians and presbyterians. Speculative opinions have less to do than is supposed with the conduct of men. Those who obey the impulses of heaven, are as likely to act rightly as the professors of obedience to human reason. But to return to the Courier.

I had not been long installed as editor, till I perceived that the business would not suit me. In point of emolument it was convenient, but, as I have elsewhere shewn, money matters have ever been, perhaps too slightly, regarded by me, and my resignation, though it partook of that promptitude of enunciation which all my decisions have uniformly manifested, was, however, the result of very solemn reflection. To men who have juster notions of the value of money than I have ever entertained, not from persuasion, but from habit, if not constitutional carelessness, my resignation in such a crisis of fortune will not be easily comprehensible;

but to those who think, as the old song sings, that there are things "which gold can never buy," no further explanation can be necessary.

My connection with the Courier was, however, attended with one agreeable circumstance. I have more than once already mentioned a curious sort of relish which I enjoy from original characters, and I am sure Mr. W—— S—— will not be offended to think that I consider him as having claims to my regard, owing to the unimpaired stamp and mintage of his nature, independent of his worth as a friend. No reason can be assigned for a predilection which, from my earliest childhood, I have vividly felt, but among other attractions which are fading to me from the world, is variety in characters. My ladies are reduced to three, the number of the graces; one in her eighty-eighth year, another about fourscore, and the third says, herself, that she is not more than seventy-five, a very accomplished person, who might have been a countess, had she not consulted her heart more than her head, but she made, for the honour of her sex, that mistake.

No species of literature affords so wide a scope for arrogance, or calls for less knowledge, than the editorship of a newspaper. But it does require some knowledge, though of a kind not very worshipful.

An editor ought to be acquainted with the private history of public men, and the more invidious his information is, the greater will be his advantage, for somehow the world thinks that base and bad motives have a stronger, a more acrid, influence over human affairs than they really have, because the sordid prudent preach that mankind should be treated as rogues, till they are found to be only fools. But such preachers, however, prove that they should not themselves be trusted. He is actuated by another than a wicked spring of action, who believes himself capable of voluntarily injuring others. It is, however, too much the case with newspaper editors to represent the political adversaries, whom they, for a time, may find it expedient to assail, as instigated by derelict and sinister intentions. And the morality of society is, perhaps, fortunate in the ephemeral nature of their animosities.

At no time, as I frankly confess, have I been a great admirer of mere literary character; to tell the truth, I have sometimes felt a little shame-faced in thinking myself so much an author, in consequence of the estimation in which I view the professors of book-making in general. A mere literary man—an author by profession—stands but low in my opinion, and the reader will, perhaps, laughingly say, "it is a pity I should

think so little of myself." But though, as the means of attaining ascendancy and recreation in my sphere, I have written too much, it is some consolation to reflect that

"I left no calling for the idle trade."

This I assert with confidence, for, in looking back through the long vista of a various life, I cannot upbraid myself with having neglected one task, or left one duty unperformed, either for the thrift or "fancy work" of letters.

CHAPTER V.

Visitation of infirmity.—Go to Cheltenham.—Lives of the Players.

Soon after my resignation of the editorship of the Courier, I experienced a visitation of infirmity in my health; perhaps the mind had something to do with the disease. It was of a nervous nature, but of a more decided character than several attacks I had suffered of the same kind, particularly the malady with which I was afflicted prior to going abroad in my youth. I had also experienced something like a touch of paralysis several months before; but, saving a local debility, I did not feel any particular effect; the second attack was, however, more sensibly experienced, and, though less violent, could not be shaken off. I could, indeed, no longer equivocate to myself that the noon of life was come, and the hour striking.

The consciousness of having attained the summit of my strength, was not, however, so obvious to others as to myself, and thus, though I suffered what the school-boy called an "all-overishness," I had

no very particular symptom that could be described. Some relaxation was, however, recommended, of which I would have gladly availed myself; but it is not in my nature to be long at rest, for I have ever found my truest repose in a change of employment. However, I went for a short time to Cheltenham, where, though I could not deny that I received benefit, I was yet sensible that the demon of disease still clung to me—I felt his hold still, though relaxed in the grip.

In this crisis, at the suggestion of Mr. Lockhart, I undertook the compilation of my Lives of the Players—a work which disappointed both; for although it is, probably, one of the most amusing books in the language, as affording a particular view of human nature, it owes very little to me. The humour and eccentricities of the characters are either derived from themselves, or are the inventions of other biographers; except in the incidents which led the heroes and heroines to the stage, there is very little about them to excite the reader's attention. I claim no other merit for this task, than in giving an uniformity of style to a variety of compositions.

But, though as a literary work, no great store can be set by the Lives of the Players, it deserves consideration of a particular kind. During the course of reading which the compilation required,

I was struck with what may be called the key upon which it should be modulated, and it did appear to me, without affectation, that a different standard of morality should be taken with reference to the players, from that which is applicable to other persons.

Without, therefore, assuming whether the laxity of conduct which prevails on the stage, arises from constitutional or professional causes, it is quite obvious that players ought not to be estimated by the common rules of life; to do them justice, you must proceed to consider them on a flatter key than the rest of mankind; they are necessarily under the ridge, if it may be so called, and they are unfairly treated, if this fact be not always kept in view. The half of their time is spent in an artificial state, and it is only acting justly towards them to bear this in mind. Moreover, without any disparagement of their virtue, their vocation requires them to assume sentiments and parts that may not accord with their natural feelings, but which have a certain control over those feelings, often not beneficial. To do justice to a well conceived and well expressed dramatic character, the passions or levities of that character must be put on, and cannot be exhibited with any effect, without an assumption of a probable likeness, which is never worn without

communicating some taint or bias—no woman is improved in her heart by playing Millwood, in George Barnwell.

Although in writing the Lives of the Players, there was amusement approaching to relaxation, it yet suggested many grave reflections. Many of those kind of incidents, which, in the sober and sequestered walks of life, would scarcely deserve notice, appear, in the garish highway of the player's profession, serious and important. Occurrences, which, to the commonalty of mankind, are of little account, seem, in their sphere, of primary importance. No composition with which I was ever engaged, was so pregnant with instruction, or taught the necessity of being more indulgent towards the aberrations of mankind.

But the instruction derived from either reading or compiling, which is in some sort reading, is, I apprehend, very evanescent. The players, "amusing vagabonds," are a class of adventurers by themselves,—a relic of the influence of puritanical sentiment, makes them, in general, hardly dealt with by the world. For example, with many persons the profession is held to be disreputable; but a very little consideration should render it different, for it is not a trade. Every one cannot learn acting as he can a business. It requires natural endowment, and something of that rare quality

which is described by the nubilous epithet of genius. This distinction should entitle the professors to more regard than they often receive, especially as the very faculty which distinguishes them from the common race of man, impels them to imitate, unconsciously, the foibles and the faults of others. To represent faults and foibles correctly, they must possess a shrewd discernment of them, and they are led by the insensible bias of their peculiarity, to associate themselves with characters that are not held in any particular esteem. No class in society requires to be viewed with more generosity than the players; for the very inclination which is the origin of their excellence, leads them to associate with those questionable models which mankind delights to contemplate, either with laughter or sorrow; besides, be it observed, that this innate inclination, which enables them to contribute so much to our innocent pastimes, is not, in the individuals by whom it is possessed, a vice that should be very harshly condemned, as it is a gift of nature, and cannot be assumed. There are, no doubt, individuals who ape the peculiarities of the players, and others who are driven to the stage by misfortune; but notwithstanding the multitude of the histrionic race, the true player is possessed of wonderful endowments, and ranks among the rare and select of the human race; the poet and the

painter are not more dissimilar than the actor, and yet they are of "imagination all compact."

It would be a curious topic of research to ascertain, if it be possible, how so many of the players, both male and female, are remarkable, before they appear on the stage, for eccentricities in private life; because, in the parts which they afterwards perform, there is nothing that seems to give any kind of warranty to previous irregularities. My own opinion on this point is, that it arises from their natural propensity to find enjoyment in strongly marked characters—characters who are so in spite, as it were, of themselves; at least, I have observed that painters have predilections for particular forms, and a relish of particular phenomena beyond other men. Musicians too, for example, do not hear common sounds better than their neighbours, and yet who would say that Paganini's ear is not a much more miraculous organ than that of the blind Highland piper, who endeavours to vend his pibrochs at a fair: yet they are precisely of the same nature and mechanism. It is for this reason that the player's power of giving appropriate gesture and expression to passion, is something of a singular faculty conferred by Heaven. But I am growing metaphysical; such cogitations are out of place in a narrative.

CHAPTER VI.

Bogle Corbet.—Allusion to Sir Walter Scott.—Estimate.

I DO not propose in this section of my biography to give more than a sketch of the history of some of my literary productions, omitting those occasional contributions to periodical publications; but the next work to the history of the players was Bogle Corbet, suggested by my publishers to be a companion to Lawrie Todd; its fate, however, shows how little an author is capable of rightly appreciating his own works.

In Bogle Corbet, I was desirous to exhibit the causes which now, in this country, induce a genteeler class of persons to emigrate than those who may be said to have exclusively embarked before. I do not mean to say that the incidents described in that work, happen to the kind of persons in the condition of the hero, but I certainly intended to show the natural effects, in some degree, of introducing the cotton manufactures into Scotland, and the result of that kind of commerce which the late war, both in its republican and imperial stages, fostered; in this attempt I have not, in my own opinion, failed.

In one respect, Bogle Corbet is the most peculiar of all my literary essays; I had models for the principal characters in my eye, and in few have I been so uniformly successful in the portraiture. The persons in my view, have been delineated with considerable truth, but not always, I suspect, with that sort of felicity, which is necessary to render a book agreeable to the general reader. The work, however, is really worth more than it seems, for it is an attempt to embody facts and observations, collected and made on actual occurrences. Canada, indeed, must have altered rapidly, if Bogle Corbet be not a true guide to settlers of his rank.

The excursion to Jamaica is entirely fictitious, with the exception of one incident which actually occurred, to a playmate of my boyhood.

In drawing up the view of West Indian society, though it is altogether a combination of the fancy, it is done with solicitude and care. It does not appear to me that there is so much difference between the notion, which one class of persons in this country entertain, of the West Indies, from those of another, that one of them should not be correct; what I consider as the true state is described in the work, but it does not fall in with the popular ideas on the subject: I shall be glad, however, should I prove wrong in my

conceptions, by the result of emancipating the slaves. I say this with the more particular emphasis, as I felt it to be a kind of duty, to old associations, to point out the evils that might arise, in my opinion, from giving liberty to the slaves, without due checks and restraints.

In fact, Bogle Corbet was intended by me to be a guide book, particularly in the third volume, and I have, in all my works, kept the instructive principle more or less in view; probably by doing so, and restraining the scope of inventions entirely to probabilities, I may have failed to give as much entertainment as works, more strictly amusing with the same incidents, might have furnished, but I always did my best, and I only desire it may be remembered by my readers that, I had an object in view beyond what was apparent. I considered the novel as a vehicle of instruction, or philosophy teaching, by example, parables, in which the moral was more valuable than the incidents were impressive. Indeed, it is not in this age that a man of ordinary common sense would enter into competition, in recreative stories, with a great genius who possessed the attention of all, I mean Sir Walter Scott, who, without aspiring beyond the limits of romance writing, has attained such splendid pre-eminence, by the power and variety that appear in his productions, insensibly elevating the minds of his

readers with topics, which, though not historically correct, wear yet such an air of life and probability, as to increase the pleasures of mankind.

Since I have introduced the illustrious name of that superb genius, with relation to the class of composition in which he can never be excelled, I may venture to express in what respects I not only consider him the first in his walk, but ranking with the greatest in any. As a poet, I do not think so much of him as many others do; he relates his semi-epics, certainly, with great beauty, a vivacity quite unexampled, and in many instances, he approaches that "fine frenzy" which distinguishes the genuine poet; all else that he has done, is only in respectable mediocrity; but in romance, he towers into unapproachable excellence.

Of his different novels and romances, I do not profess myself to be a proper judge; some of them I think of transcendent merit, as pictures of the manners he assumes to paint; but where the hand of the masterly artist is most conspicuously apparent and acknowledged, I have not received from the touches so much amusement, as from more seemingly careless achievements. Thus it happens, that while I have always regarded the Antiquary as one of his happiest productions, to my taste, I have not been insensible to the vigour of his pencilling, in what are, perhaps, greater works. Ivanhoe I regard as his masterpiece, and yet if I were required to give

reasons for this preference, I would not draw them from my own feelings, nor do I think that the talent it displays in every page can be estimated by comparison; its merits range in a supernal element, and it can only be classed, not compared, with some of the rarest efforts of the human mind. In the English language, it may be ranked with Hamlet, or the Paradise Lost, or Hudibras, or the Faëry Queen, and can only be read, to be duly valued, by passages. It is, however, one of those sort of books in which bright truths and deep insights abound, and which can only be properly seen in quotations. While saying this, let me not be misunderstood; I do not mean it should be inferred that I think the least meritorious of all his novels, not immeasurably superior to those of most men; for, even where he appears to deal with matters, from which the sober reason recoils, there is about them so much necromancy of manner, that the pleasure arising from them is at once intellectual and common. No writer but himself ever made the limning of crimes beautiful, and yet withheld from that beauty the power of captivating. In this respect he excels, and in this I would say his "great strength" indisputably lies.

But Sir Walter Scott is exposed to the bane of all men of genius, in being misrepresented by an ignorant herd, who overlook his true glory. He is praised by them for his knowledge of ancient

pageants and the hieroglyphics of heraldry, but there is not an Unicorn in the Lion's office who is not capable of detecting flaws and oversights, in every description he attempts of gorgeous pageantry; colours on colours, however, and such like inadvertencies, do not detract from the grandeur and poetry of his pictures: like those of the boats in Raphael's miraculous draught of fishes, we never think of dimensions in the grand effect of the whole piece.

Lord Byron says that all great authors are voluminous. This is not correct. Kings have constructed pyramids, but only one man has existed, in all time, capable of creating the Apollo. Excellence is more essential than magnitude to the greatness of genius; were it not so, in literature, facility of composition would be equivalent to elevation of talent. It is true that Voltaire and Sir Walter Scott are both distinguished, as prolific authors, but there have been others equally so, and it is by the degree of excellence attained in some works, and the exhibition of capability to rise higher in others, that constitutes their pre-eminence. Unless we keep the quality of excellence constantly in view, we shall fall into a sad error by forming our estimates of authors on the quantity of their productions.

To the merits of Sir Walter Scott I have early

and ever borne uniform tribute. When Marmion was published, it gave me much pleasure. In a crisis of my fortunes I read it through one night without rising, and afterwards inscribed to the author the following verses, anonymously, but which he deemed deserving of particular notice to the editor of the newspaper in which they first appeared, who gave me his letter: it was lately in the possession of Mr. Murray the bookseller.

TO THE AUTHOR OF MARMION.

I.

Oh! sure when stretched on grassy knoll,
'Mid Ettrick's haunted scenery,
Watching the vassal runnells roll,
To where the restless summer beam,
On well sung Tweed's baronial stream,
Held gay and flickering revelry;

II.

Some gentle faëry resting nigh,
Beneath her gowan canopy,
Heard the entranced truant sigh
For deeds of bold and earnest toil,
The borderer's joy of speed and spoil,
And pomp of knightly panoply.

III.

Well pleased a child so rare to find—
So meet for noble chivalry;
A spell of elfin art combin'd
That gave thee all thy soul desired,
Whatever chief or champion fired
In bless'd and blessing poësy.

When he died, no one could regret the event

more, for, although I knew him but slightly, it called forth associations that were sad, though not sorrowful. The grief, indeed, which one feels when so beautiful a light is extinguished, is not felt like the pain of a misfortune; but it causes a solemn mood, and moves to reflections unassociated with any joy. The following verses express something of what I experienced on hearing of his death.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF SIR WALTER SCOTT.

I.

Ho! thou upon the upland, thou
On Eildon's haunted wild on high,
What glory lights thy upward brow—
What vision draws thy wondering eye?
The sun shines cloudless in the sky,
Thy forehead shews as bright a sheen.—
What pageant see'st thou passing by—
Rapt shepherd, speak! what hast thou seen?

II.

"As radiant from the north ascends
The dayless morning's mystic light,
When stars grow dim and moonlight ends,
Rise phantom forms that charm my sight,
Like fires that gleam athwart the night,
While all, as if his race were run,
Dim, shrunk, and faded, sickly white,
Sits on his throne, the dazzled sun.

III.

"There following comes, in wavering flame,
Dejected grief, and guilt sublime;
The blush that bears no tint of shame,
Th' untainting tale that tells of crime;

The seneschal of feudal time,
The crested pride of chivalry,
The faërys' prank—the witches' rhyme,
The hints and gleams of prophecy.

IV.

" They mount: the progeny of thought,
The minstrel grave, the goblin gay;
The ghost, of mist and moonlight wrought;
The bearded monk, the hermit gray;
And here the host, and there the fray,
As in Sir Godfrey's vision shown,
And bannered chiefs, in proud array
Refulgent, from the battle won.

V.

" Lo! mingling sprites of every hue,
The maiden's dream, the widow's fright;
Green vestured elves, with eyes of dew,
And things of joy, with locks of light;
Whate'er is fair, and good, and bright,
To universal nature true,
As heralds of immortal right,
Arise to claim the poet's due."—

VI.

Thus to my loud, impassioned call,
The raptured swain ecstatic spoke,
While dim and dark a funeral pall
Unrolling, as the silent smoke,
His high-entranced vision broke,
And glooming o'er the Tweed below,
As lowering clouds that storms invoke,
Was seen the solemn pomp of woe.

VII.

On hill and dale, and storied moor,
Lamentings sadden all the air,
And palace dome, and cottage door,
Alike the general sorrow share;

But ah, how vain is praise or prayer,
The spell that bade the phantoms rise
Is broken : their creator there—
The MASTER WIZARD—lowly lies !

These two poems, one of them written early in his career, and the other when his fame could receive no augmentation, and at the distance of five and twenty years, may serve to prove the sincerity of my high respect.

Of his general talents, the universal acclaim of the public would render any attempt to disparage them, as invidious as hopeless. He was, indeed, take him as a man and an author, one of those rare characters that are at times lent to the world as a pattern, to show how respectable human nature may become : no doubt, like all of woman born, he had his weaknesses ; but when his genius, his industry, and his conduct are considered, the heart is too splendidly dazzled to discern the spots which reason asserts he must have possessed.

But although one of the richest and most abundant veins of genius well worked, enabled Sir Walter to take a most distinguished place among the illustrious, of an age teeming with great men, it has not been particularly observed that the precious ore was singularly pure of its golden kind, and unmixed with other elements. He was in the truest sense the describer of feudal manners and

customs, not as an antiquary, but as a poet. With no exception, either in prose or rhyme, he adhered to that character. In the Antiquary and Saint Ronan's Well, the peculiar spirit that was ever perched on his pen, presides with the same predominance as in Ivanhoe.

Sceptical of resolution having any thing to do with the employments, to which genius addicts itself, I cannot but consider the exclusive preference which Sir Walter, throughout his mighty career, has shown for the pageants and practices of chivalry, as remarkably in accordance with his good fortune. Perhaps no other path in literature was so untrodden, and though taste more than choice may have guided him to pursue it, still the bright eminence attained in consequence, has elevated him to the admiration of posterity more conspicuously, than had he deviated into other romantic haunts or more familiar scenery.

There is, I think, a kind of inexpressible pleasure in being contemporary with great men,—to witness their dawn and to enjoy their rising. Posterity can only echo the plaudits that attended their brightening, and in contemplating their noon, but not the wonder of those who traced them from the horizon.

CHAPTER VII.

Reflections on my own works.

It may be necessary to explain here, that I do not think the character of my own productions has been altogether rightly regarded. Merely because the incidents are supposed to be fictitious, they have been all considered as novels, and yet, as such, the best of them are certainly deficient in the peculiarity of the novel. They would be more properly characterised, in several instances, as theoretical histories, than either as novels or romances. A consistent fable is as essential to a novel as a plot is to a drama, and yet those, which are deemed my best productions, are deficient in this essential ingredient. For example, in the Annals of the Parish, there is nothing that properly deserves to be regarded as a story; for the only link of cohesion, which joins the incidents together, is the mere remembrance of the supposed author, and nothing makes the work complete within itself, but the biographical recurrence upon the scene, of the same individuals. It is, in consequence, as widely differ-

ent from a novel, as a novel can be from any other species of narrative. But all my works are not of this description. In two of them, particularly the Spaewife and Rothelan, I have endeavoured to write something, like what I conceive an historical novel should be, namely, to make the characters act and feel as they would have done, or are supposed to have done, in their own time. But it is only by contrasting them with such works as the Annals of the Parish, that the nature of their difference can be properly understood. Many, I am very free to allow, have vastly surpassed my endeavours in the historical novel, but I do not think that I have had numerous precursors, in what I would call my theoretical histories of society, limited, though they were required by the subject, necessarily to the events of a circumscribed locality. With respect to one work, I do not think I have very great reason to be proud of its popularity, and yet I believe it has sold, particularly in Scotland, passably well. I allude to Ringan Gilhaize, which, as a work, is unique.

I have supposed a covenanter of the olden time relating the adventures of his grandfather, who lived during the Reformation. It was, therefore, necessary that I should distinctly conceive what was a covenanter's character, in order to make him relate what such a person would do with reformers in the

time of John Knox. There was here, if I may be allowed the expression, a transfusion of character, that could only be rightly understood, by shewing how a covenanter acted and felt. To do this,—to enable the reader to estimate the invention put forth in the work, and to judge of the manner in which the covenanter performed his task, I made him give his autobiography, which kept out of view every thing, that might recall the separate existence of the Author. But I must have failed in my object, for, although many have spoken to me of the merits of particular passages, I do not recollect that ever one person evinced an apprehension of the intention, which I thought would have attracted consideration for the work itself. Those, however, who would class it either with a common novel, or an historical novel, or with such philosophical sketches as the Annals of the Parish, must fall into an error consequent to a failure in my design, and yet I do not see in Ringan Gilhaize that I have failed. It is no doubt a fiction, and as such, may, perhaps, be called a novel, but my memory does not furnish me with the knowledge of a novel of the same kind. Notwithstanding it has been supposed to have been a true history, I do not scruple to say that I have been disappointed in hearing it considered as such, because the merits of the invention have not

been so obvious, merely because they have been so seemingly true.

Other productions have partaken of a similar fate; my own situation, which made their incidents to me absolute inventions, has been overlooked, and their probability has given countenance to a belief, that I had drawn more on the memory than the imagination. But while I do think the world has not done justice to my invention, there is one of my books that has been absolutely neglected.

One of the monthly reviews, when it appeared, showed a disposition to treat it with more consideration than works of fiction usually are, in periodicals of that class. But yet it fell still-born from the press, though one or two ingenious friends have expressed themselves pleased with its speculations. It was called the Majolo, of which the first volume appeared by itself, and subsequently the second; a third is still wanting. It is any thing but a novel, and yet it has been classed as strictly of that species of composition.

It is a treatise, illustrated by incidents, on sympathies and antipathies, and that class of curious, undescribed feelings, which all men obey, but which few are willing to acknowledge. Soon after it was published, a very singular incident occurred, which ought to have rendered the book popular, had it

been at all known. I speak of the manner in which the Emperor Napoleon, without witness or evidence, is said to have discovered the leader of a conspiracy. In the Majolo, it was necessary to illustrate the train of feeling by which this was done, and in the process of discovering a murder, I make the hero feel precisely what Buonaparte is reported to have felt; and yet my work was published long before the process of conjecture by which he reached the principal actor in the plot against him. But the book was sketchily written, and not brought out in a manner to attract attention. It would be great presumption for any man to say, that his own work deserved more consideration than it received; but still I do think that the merits and originality of the sentiments, described in the Majolo, have not been adequately valued, either for their truth, their simplicity, or the influence which they are shewn to have on action.

The Majolo is my first novel, for it was received as of that genus of composition when it appeared, and I do not think it can serve any purpose to resist the decision of the world. The first volume was published by itself, and was in fact, as I conceived, an essay, illustrated by incidents, of sympathies and antipathies, with the class of feelings associated with them: it is without story, properly so called. In my own opinion, which

however goes for nothing, it is a curious work; but considered as a novel, is by far too philosophical. I was induced to add the second volume, in consequence of an opinion expressed on the first, by the late Lord Kinneder, in whose taste, with every one who knew him, I had the greatest confidence. But although there are impressive scenes and striking passages in the second volume, it is inferior in originality to the first. The work was never intended to fall into promiscuous hands; I think only two hundred and fifty copies were published. I have not one myself, or perhaps I might have, by this time, fused the two volumes into one. Obscure as it is, what attention it did attract was rather gratifying; still it was considered as a novel, and I was not willing to think it any thing less than a sort of treatise.

Connected with the train of reflections developed in the Majolo, I wrote long after a little tale, called the Omen *, which has never been ascribed to me. It was reviewed by Sir Walter Scott, in Blackwood's Magazine, in which he mentions, from his own knowledge, several facts illustrative of the doctrines, and in corroboration of incidents in the book that were pure inventions: perhaps I would

* This work is founded on a story that I supposed Lord Byron to have had in view when he wrote the Bride of Abydos; but the Omen was not then written.

be justified in calling them conclusions into which I had reasoned myself, by reflecting on the temperament of the hero, and the circumstances in which he was placed. The story itself, though interesting, is not pleasant; but it contains several passages written with more than ordinary care, and couched in a poetical freedom of style.

CHAPTER VIII.

Continued.—Annals of the Parish.—Provost.

While I am on the subject of my literary productions, I may as well here introduce something about the history of my earlier works, although it does not fall within the scope of this undertaking to treat of them particularly.

The "Ayrshire Legatees" was published before the "Annals of the Parish," but the latter was earlier written, and the history of it is curious. When very young, I wished to write a book that would be for Scotland what the Vicar of Wakefield is for England, and early began to observe, in what respects the minister of a parish differed from the general inhabitants of the country. The study, however, was not pursued with any particular intensity, the opportunity indeed was wanting, for our town was large and the clergymen in it too urbane to furnish a model. The beau ideal of a rural pastor never presented itself to me, but I heard, from others, descriptions of the character

of individuals, by which I was furnished with many hints.

One Sunday, happening to take a solitary walk to the neighbouring village of Inverkip, I observed that from the time I had been there before, some progress had been made in turning it inside out. The alteration was undoubtedly a great improvement, but the place seemed to me neither so picturesque nor primitive as the old town, and I could not refrain from lamenting the change, as one sighs over the grave of an old man.

While looking at the various improvements around, my intention of writing a minister's sedate adventures returned upon me suddenly, and I felt something like that glow with which Rousseau conceived his essay on the arts and sciences. I resolved to make the schoolmaster of the village the recorder of a register.

Business, with other cares and vicissitudes, suspended the design for many years, but it was constantly remembered, though not carried into effect till the year 1813, when I perceived that the plan of a schoolmaster's register would not suit, so I altered my design into the "Annals of the Parish."

When the work was nearly finished, I wrote to my old acquaintance Constable, the bookseller, what I was about, but he gave me no encouragement to proceed: Scottish novels, he said, would

not do, for at that time Waverley was not published, nor, if it had been, was there any resemblance between my work and that celebrated production. In consequence, however, of his letter, the unfinished manuscript was thrown into a drawer and forgotten.

Years after, I took it into my head one Sunday to set my papers in order, and among them the minister's chronicle was found; I read it over, as an entire stranger would do, and it struck me as possessed of some merit. After dinner, I read passages to a friend who dined with me, and he was equally pleased. I then sent it to Blackwood, by whom it was published.

Some of the individuals, who have been the models of the characters, were, on the publication, at once recognised, which tended to corroborate the favourable opinion I had myself formed of the work; but although the story was suggested by the improvements of Inverkip, the scene is actually laid in the "whereabouts" of the village of Dreghorn, in Ayrshire. In a still evening, I sometimes think of its beautiful church, amidst a clump of trees, with, as Roger says,

"Its taper spire that points to heaven!"

nor is the locality to me uninteresting, as it happens to be the burial place of my "forebears."

The Ayrshire Legatees appeared at different times in Blackwood's Magazine, and the characters, as those in the Annals of the Parish, are portraits. Mrs. Pringle is drawn from my mother, and was recognised by herself with some surprise and good humour. Young Pringle, however, is not altogether a portrait, he is represented as a tory Scottish advocate of the ultra class, and, as such, imbued with antipathies that have their origin in political opinions: under a show of candour he has strong prejudices.

It is necessary to say this here, because it has been supposed that his letters contain my own sentiments; this, however, is not the case, for although always a moderate tory, I have never been able to discern that there was aught in political persuasions, different from my own, to justify enmity. My best friends have been whigs, and the tories I have always thought by far too intractable—I never could discover that the bias of dispositions should be ascribed to principles. The portrait of Andrew Pringle is a composition, and I am not aware that the attributes of any one particular character predominate.

In the real characters mentioned by name, it was my endeavour to judge of them as I think an ultra-tory would have judged; for my own opinion was different.

When I first saw the sculptures upon the Parthenon at Athens, it occurred to me that it was only by studying how the forms of nature could be embodied, without losing individuality, that excellence in art could be obtained, and the result of the observation has continued with me ever since, strengthened by afterwards inspecting the Elgin marbles in London, and other works in painting and literature, esteemed master-pieces. In all, I fancied I could perceive living models to have been chosen for every figure, and I continue to think so still.

On mentioning this notion to my old friend, Mr. West, he told me that the same thing had been suggested to him in composing one of his earliest pictures in America, the Death of Socrates, and that wherever he had attended to it, the result was eminently satisfactory, but he added, that artists could not afford to employ different models for every individual in their great works. The cripple, however, in his picture of "Christ healing the Sick" is from nature; and I recognised, in a soldier in the Life Guards coming from his painting room, the model of a figure either in "Christ Rejected" or "Death on the Pale Horse;" I forget which. But it is not for me to say that the rule is good, its appreciation is slow, and perhaps attention to the rule itself does not imply a very high sleight of art, though I think it deserving of consideration.

Another work, the Provost, intended to be a companion to the Annals of the Parish, seems to myself a superior production to the other two, although it has never been so popular. Many circumstances, indeed, have rendered it more a pet with me, than, perhaps, it is with the public; an anecdote respecting it deserves to be noticed.

The friend to whom it was dedicated, lent it to Mr. Canning, who read it during a dull debate, no uncommon thing, in the House of Commons. Mr. Canning spoke of it afterwards always with commendation.

Besides exhibiting a tolerably correct picture of a Scottish borough, I had in view, while writing it, a gentleman, who, when I was a boy at school, had the chief management of the borough council in my native town. He was unblemished in reputation, with considerable talent for his sphere, and, it was alleged, possessed that pawkie art, in which the hero is delineated to have excelled. I left the place when about ten years old, but his peculiarities had even then struck me, and when I determined on composing a companion to the Annals of the Parish, he seemed to have been made for me. I believed he was dead, and had no scruple about choosing him for my model.

Long after the publication, and when I had returned from my first visit to Canada, I went, ac-

companied by my mother and sister, to Ayrshire, and in passing through Irvine, it was proposed to give me the freedom of the borough, for which purpose the town council invited me to the clerk's chamber.

As we had a long journey to perform in the course of that day, I stepped out of the post-chaise, at the door of the tolbooth, to wait on the magistrates, when, to my astonishment, I beheld my old friend alive, then a very venerable man, sitting in the chair. The sight upon me for a moment was as an apparition, but I was recalled to myself by the manner in which he delivered the diploma, with an address; Provost Pawkie himself could never have said any thing half so good.

His speech partook of his character, and evinced a degree of good sense, of tact, and taste, though delivered in the Scottish dialect, quite extraordinary. Instead of speaking the sort of balderdash, common on such occasions, he passed over every thing which related to myself, conceiving, as I suppose, that the honour of bestowing on me a burgess ticket, was a sufficient recognition of my supposed deservings; but he paid a well expressed compliment to the character of my father and mother, telling how much they were held in esteem by their townsfolk, and concluded with saying, that not the least proof of their merits was in

bringing up their children to be worthy of a public testimony of respect.

As in the Annals of the Parish, the narrative of the Provost is purely fictitious, and it contains few incidents belonging to the history of the town. The only occurrence approximating to the local traditions, refers to a young woman who was executed for infanticide, one Jean Swan, whose skeleton existed in my time, most fearful to children, in a doctor's shop. Over the mantel-piece, in the grammar school, was a stucco female mask, garlanded on each side with a festoon of flowers, to which her name was given by the boys. The event, however, of her execution, happened long before my time, and was the last which took place in the town.

As these three works have obtained a kind of supremacy over my other productions, I have presumed to speak of them thus particularly, but the Earthquake was what I myself consider as my first legitimate novel. It is chiefly descriptive of Sicilian manners, and founded upon an incident, supposed to have happened, during the earthquake at Messina. I imagine the story is not very well put together, but the consistency of the characters is quite equal to those in my Scottish stories; their lineaments, however, are not so well known in this country, and the story itself is, perhaps, not plea-

sant; notwithstanding, it contains scenes and passages that have been thought powerful and pretty. There is one scene in it,—an old opera singer in a festa, one of the best pictures I have ever attempted, but as one swallow does not make a summer, neither will two nor three of the finest passages make a good book.

The great defect of the Earthquake, if it may so be called, is in not being English enough; all our novels of foreign countries, and particularly of those which relate to the same regions of the earth, contain laudable likenesses of characters and events that may occur or be met with in England, and have as little resemblance to the society and scenery of the lands in which they are laid, as Tom Jones, or Roderick Random, would have to those of Greece or Turkey, if the one were called Hassan Moustapha, and the other Theodosius Phragocotus. The national difference in manners seems very little understood, or, if understood, very little attended to; however, I shall not incur the derision of the reader by any longer descant. The novel did not take very well, and I pacified my vanity by supposing the readers incompetent judges of what were its merits.

CHAPTER IX.

Obligations to Mr. Blackwood.—The Life of Mr. West.—Origin.—His lectures.—Origin of the Mermaid.—The Witness.—A player's anecdote.

I DO not intend to give an account of the origin and history of all my different works; in the prefaces to some of them I have done that already; but I owe a debt of gratitude that would be ill discharged, if it were not fully acknowledged. Although the Annals of the Parish is much older than the Ayrshire Legatees, it is due to Mr. Blackwood, of Edinburgh, to ascribe to him the peculiarities of that production, for, though unacquainted with the Annals of the Parish, his reception of my first contribution to his magazine of the Ayrshire Legatees, encouraged me to proceed with the manner in which it is composed, and thus, if there be any originality in my Scottish class of compositions, he is entitled to be considered as the first person who discovered it.

But a few particulars respecting some of these works are interesting, at least to myself, to record. The Life of Mr. West is one, for the whole materials of which it consists were derived from himself, and

the work is, in consequence, as nearly as it possibly can be, an autobiography. The occasion of writing it was this.

I often used to go to the old gentleman's painting room, and, several times in the course of conversation, he mentioned anecdotes of his early youth. These seemed to me interesting, and ultimately I proposed to write the first part of his Life, to which he assented, and from time to time corrected the manuscript. The second part was undertaken at his own request, when he was on his death bed, and the last proof was examined by himself. In the course of drawing up this part, he gave me the manuscripts of his addresses to the pupils of the Academy, works which I intend to correct, and may hereafter publish.

I ought, also, to state to what circumstances I chiefly owe the incidents, upon which some of my other productions have been founded.

In dramatic compositions, I was generally actuated by a desire to give a new view of an old well known subject; but sometimes a different motive stirred me. This was the case with the Mermaid. My friend Park had occasion to be in the Western Highlands, where he heard much, in a clergyman's family, of a mermaid that was said to have been seen on the shore of one of the Hebrides. The description, which represented her as very beautiful,

struck his fancy, and he composed an address to her of four or five stanzas, which he read to me, and which supposed her, from her beauty, to have human feelings. The verses were pretty, and led me afterwards to compose the second part of my Mermaid. The first was not written till the second was printed. He was pleased with the attempt, and wrote the critical note on it, which is in the new British Theatre.

The story of the Witness was suggested by an old newspaper or magazine, and is, undoubtedly, both original and impressive. I do not now remember it particularly, but the circumstance from which it is derived was an Irish trial for murder. The judge, as the trial proceeded, observed the accused often looking behind with terror, and becoming more and more agitated. Being a man of metaphysical discernment, he called out as if without noticing the prisoner's alarm, to make way for "that person" who was struggling to get forward through the crowd. "By his appearance, he has," said he, "some testimony to give:" the delinquent on hearing these words, clasped his hands and exclaiming he was lost, presently "confessed his malefactions."

The other incidents are inventions to swell the fable.

A distinguished actress let out a curious profes-

sional secret to me, respecting the character of Isbel. She remarked that although it was very impassioned, yet it was such from its necessary low attire, one which no lady would like to perform. I was not aware till then of the importance of confining the characters of tragedy to kings and queens, princes and princesses, and others of the blood royal, "with men of high degree."

The Entail, which is supposed to be among the best of my novels, is founded on a family anecdote related by a friend; of course the characters are selected according to my own liking, but the tale is true, and except in incidental circumstances, deserves to be considered as a kind of history in private life. The sunny summer storm and shipwreck described, as consummating the fate of the last heir of entail, was introduced to allow of a description of the northern coast, which I received from Miss Sinclair, the daughter of the celebrated baronet. I never was, myself, near that part of the coast in which the scene is laid, but I have been frequently assured it is correctly given, as well as some other Highland circumstances alluded to in the book.

But of all my manifold sketches, I repine most at an alteration which I was induced, by the persuasion of a friend, to make, on the original tale of Sir Andrew Wylie: as it now stands it is more

like an ordinary novel, than that which I first projected, inasmuch as, instead of giving, as intended, a view of the rise and progress of a Scotchman in London, it exhibits a beginning, a middle, and an end, according to the most approved fashion for works of that description. But no particular story is engrafted on my original idea, and perhaps, the book by the alteration is greatly improved; it is not, however, the work I had planned, in which certainly there would have been no such episode as the gipsies introduced, an episode, however, which I have heard frequently mentioned as the best contrived part of the narrative.

The second edition was inscribed to my amiable friend the Earl of Blessington, in consequence of a remark which his Lordship made to me when he was reading it; speaking of Lord Sandiford's character, he observed, that it must be very natural, for, in the same circumstances, he would have acted in a similar manner, and he seemed not to have the least idea, that he was himself the model of the character: perhaps I never received so pleasing a compliment. Of course the story has nothing to do with his Lordship; indeed in selecting scenes and incidents for the likenesses I endeavour to pourtray, I only aspired to make my dramatis personæ speak and act after the manner of

the models; just as Sir Joshua Reynolds persuaded the first Lord Duncan to stand to him as Jupiter, in the celebrated picture of Hercules strangling the serpents, which he painted for that arch-empress Catherine II., as emblematic of the progress of civilization in the Russian empire.

Rothellan, excepting the character of Adonijah, whatever merit there may be in particular passages, is not, on the whole, a favourite with me, and there is less individuality about the characters, arising from having models in view, with whom I was not particularly intimate. Adonijah, the Jew, is one of the best portraits I have ever attempted; it is, however, a flattered likeness, and exhibits the particular person, for whom it was drawn, with more sensibility than he gets credit for.

The historical portions of the story are taken from Barne's History of Edward III., with such inflexions, as were requisite to make them dovetail with the incidents.

In hearing me thus speak, it would not be doing me justice to suppose that I am actuated with a doting fondness for my own offspring; I tell candidly what I think of them, and they are not recollected for any pleasure I had in their development. I think so little about them that I can speak of their demerits as impartially as a stranger. I should,

however, make haste to conclude this desultory chapter, for if I descant much longer about my own bantlings, I shall bestow my tediousness on the reader, with as much effect as an old man fondling over his "wally draigle." At the same time, I hope it has been plainly enough stated, that literature was with me always a subservient pursuit. But I think, on looking back, that the way in which this is sometimes said, would justify the inference that I did imagine I might have put forth better things. This is not my notion; I have uniformly, on all occasions, done my best. The very utmost approaching to any thing like a consciousness of endowment, of which I ever thought myself possessed, was, in believing that I sometimes enjoyed a power of combination not very common,—a conceit, which led me to think many schemes practicable, which were very extravagant. This acknowledgement of being sensible of my defects, is preparatory to disclosures that, were I likely again to enter the arena of business, I would not make, but being laid on the shelf, I may speak of them unblamed.

CHAPTER X.

Sense of disease.—Abridged means of knowledge.—Rise of Canadian stock.—Joint stock companies.—Class of persons to whom adapted.—Fallacy as to interest.—Their objects.—The objects of commerce.—Kind of superabundant population.—Begin again to scheme.

During the period when literature was my sole pursuit, life passed in an easy, quiet tenor; I troubled myself very little with extraneous matters, and only studied to soften repose; not that I was more felicitous by doing so, for my natural bias to bustle and enterprise, occasionally, was not repressible.

I had, however, clinging about me, as I have said, a consciousness of some occult disease that materially affected my comfort and made time pass languidly. Perhaps if in younger years this listlessness had grown into habitude, I would have felt far less tedium in my sequestration; but a very active life was so contrary to the sedate regularity I endeavoured to practise, that it made me often feel a state of mind which can only be compared to the morbid lethargy of sea sickness.

I went less frequently into general society, and, ludicrously enough, conceived that I was bound to

give a preference to literary parties, to which, somehow, my mind never much lay, at least never particularly. It was not that they were disagreeable in themselves, for on the contrary they were often excellent sort of academies, and could not be frequented without receiving hints.

This abstinence in the gratification of the moral appetite, as it may be justly called, was however attended with a serious disadvantage. In the sphere of business there is a great deal of floating knowledge, which drifts aimlessly about before it settles, and which gives, to those who fall in with it, an advantage in priority of information over the recluse student. Thus it came to pass that, although studiously inclined, I was never a student, and often derived more instruction from colloquies than books. But there was too much of determination in my new mode of life to last long, and I had, constantly working against the resolution, a constitutional bias to activity that would not be restrained. I began to be "aweary" and to look about for some employment in which I could be more in earnest than with the tasks of literature.

In this state of things the affairs of the Canada Company again attracted my attention; for a long time they had been banished from my mind, and I only occasionally heard of them. But now

the stock was visibly improving, and, though still at a discount, it began to show symptoms of elasticity, recovering from depression. From that time, the quotation of the price of the shares became an object of daily attention. I watched their gradual rise with as much solicitude as if I had been a shareholder, but no idea of any project was engendered till they had reached par. I began, however, to entertain reflections respecting joint stock companies, and I fancied that I saw in them and the commercial circumstances of the kingdom, the means of advantage to individuals with small capitals, and of attaining, at the same time, important ends.

It seemed that the true nature of joint stock companies was not well understood, and that the state of the law respecting them was unwisely inimical; nor could I discern the utility of withholding charters of incorporation, save in particular cases, from them. On the contrary, it appeared, from circumstances incident to the state of society in this country, that the encouragement of joint stock companies ought to be a matter of public policy, in all cases where a large capital was required and slow returns were unavoidable; and that what was regarded as the danger of them, might be overcome by making the shares nu-

merous, low priced, and the stock of a greater amount, than there was any probability of being wanted.

Upon these principles, the most obvious mode of proceeding was not to address joint stock projects so much to the consideration of rich capitalists, as to the members of that class who have small savings, upon which they are not dependent, and can afford to wait with only moderate interest till returns come round.

It was not, however, seemingly consistent with mercantile economics, that interest should be paid from the capital; but, on reflection, I thought some fallacy existed in this, and that the objection would be removed, if the interest were made part of the necessary capital; not the nominal capital or the subscription raised to cover all contingencies, but that capital which was calculated for the objects of the undertaking, and which should be the amount to be set against the returns of the scheme.

Having arrived at this conclusion, it was obviously apparent that joint stock objects were necessarily very limited in their number, must be simple in their nature, and not likely to be so speedy in their fruitage as to tempt the cupidity of rich men. Banking establishments were, undoubtedly, according to Adam Smith and all who thought on the

subject, legitimate joint stock speculations; so were canals and the improvement of waste lands, in fact, every thing, where a great deal of money was requisite, and the returns of the nature of annuities; the recovery of the money embarked in them being only attainable by the sale of the shares. Mining adventures, and all speculations, the success of which depends on chance, seemed to me of the nature of gambling associations, and were not fit objects of chartered protection.

When I had brought my mind to understand that the objects of commerce might be divided into three classes, namely, *first*, those which could be grasped by individuals or private copartneries, *second*, those which, too great for either, might be accomplished by joint stock companies, and *third*, those which involved such hazard as only the prudence of those who embarked in them could estimate; I came to the conclusion, after considering different schemes which occurred to me, that the joint stock department, notwithstanding what I had suffered, was still open to me, and that of all feasible plans the most obvious were land speculations in new countries, to which swarms of the over-peopled nations of Europe might be led.

In saying this, it is necessary to be guarded, that I may not be misunderstood; I mean over-peopled in their existing circumstances, not as to the ca-

pability of their soil to maintain a greater number. I was, indeed, averse to think that the goodly frame of the old continent should be broken up, while the wild regions of the new could receive all the superabundance of population. I shrunk from the contemplation of converting the magnificence of aristocracy into common household purposes, while, in the lonely domains of America, there was room enough, without revolutionary turbulence or crime, for all the industrious, who could no longer exercise their vocations in the land of their fathers; and my thoughts again began to germinate with projects, which had that intent for their scope and aim.

But I was aware that the world had suffered a great change since the formation of the Canada Company, and my sojourn in the wilderness, with the seclusion into which I had retired, did not qualify me to form an estimate of the state of things. Still I was convinced that, if I could bring forward a rational scheme, there were both mercenary and benevolent persons enough in the community of this country to support it, though I knew not where to look for them.

In this crisis, the stock of the Canada Company rose to par, and I saw that I might again go among my old friends, without blushing for an

undertaking, the solidity of which experience had now vindicated. At the same time, I was informed that a joint stock company, on as great a scale as the Canada Company and on the same principles, was forming at Liverpool, with the intention of making New Brunswick the scene of its operations.

I literally lost not an hour, after receiving this intelligence, till I ascertained if Mr. Ellice was disposed to sell his superb seigniory of about three hundred and fifty thousand acres, in Lower Canada, situated at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and the Ottowa; and his answer emboldened me to try if a company could be formed, taking this noble domain for the nucleus of its purchase. I then waited on Lord Howick, and learnt from his Lordship two essential particulars; namely, that the Government did not recognize the right to the territories advanced by the claimant to the earldom of Stirling, and that an association intending to purchase the crown lands in the American provinces, might be again treated with.

When I had ascertained these two important facts, I began to cast about me for supporters to my scheme, and it is needless to say that such an enterprise requires no little bravery. The establishment, indeed, of a joint stock company, illus-

trates the problem of Columbus with the egg; for though it seems an easy task when completed, yet it is, in the advent, most adventurous, especially to those who, like me, have been mortified in similar undertakings.

CHAPTER XI.

Relax in literary pursuits.—Works.—Of the Member and Radical.—Dedication of the latter.

From the moment that I had again found a fulcrum, I relaxed in my literary pursuits. I did not, however, abandon them; indeed, how could I? and Stanley Buxton and Eben Erskine were the works produced. I had almost forgot the Member and the Radical, two occasional productions, and which, to get rid of, I may at once notice here.

They were undertaken at the time when all the nation were afflicted, not only with the reform mania, but when the public seemed to forget that the first covenant of the social compact, was the surrender of certain natural rights for the privileges and protection of society.

In the Member, I tried to embody all that could, in my opinion, be urged against the tories of my own way of thinking, and I was not aware that it could be deemed very bad, till I saw my friend, Dr. Bowring's account of it, in the Westminster

Review, in which he considered it as a reluctant concession to the spirit of the times. I am sure, however, that Mr. Jobbry is not made to make any acknowledgement unbecoming an honest man of the world, nor such as a fair partizan may not avow. The gentleman I had in my view as the model, was immediately discovered in the House of Commons, and I suspect he is possessed of too much shrewd humour to be offended with the liberty I have taken. I have represented him as neither saying nor doing aught, that, I think, as the world wags, he may not unblushingly have done, nor which, in my heart, I do not approve.

Long ago I had meditated to write the Member, so that it was not altogether ephemeral for the time. The dedication to Mr. Holmes, which he good humouredly laughed at on the publication of the book, was written by Mr. Lockhart, and to me it has always appeared a clever jeu d'esprit, and so admirable with the keeping of the character, that I feel proud when it is ascribed to me.

The Radical is more philosophical in the satire; my object in it was to show that many of those institutes, which we regard as essentials in society, owe their origin to the sacrifices required to be made by man, to partake of its securities. But I imagine it was not palatably written to the times, for, although conscious myself of not having failed

in the composition, it has not been popular; possibly as self-love would say, this is in consequence of its manifestation of the truth; however, it has not been successful.

An anecdote of the dedication is worth preserving. I had occasion to be at the Colonial Office on the morning, when the present ministry tendered their resignation, and the business was therefore postponed; for Lord Howick, who had just been informed of the news, told me of their resignation. On leaving the office, I had occasion to call at my printer's, and, in the whim of the moment, inscribed the book to Lord Brougham, designating him *late* chancellor, before it could be known to the public that he had resigned.

But to resume my narrative; when I saw myself in possession of enough to justify me in the attempt to form another company, and had sounded gentlemen as to their aid in the undertaking, I was perplexed by finding that several of them were previously pledged to be directors of the New Brunswick Company. It is not every one in London, who, however eligible by his circumstances, is fit to be a director where money is to be raised, by an appeal to the public. But it is more difficult to find individuals willing to act, who, when the capital is obtained, have influence sufficient in their names, to give confidence in their

judgement to emigrants. Thus, in the very vestibule of the undertaking, I found myself environed with obstacles; obliged to surrender a part of my project, and, upon advice, to try if I could blend my colonial scheme with that forming at Liverpool, for New Brunswick.

Accordingly, I put myself into communication with the projectors of that undertaking, but I was surprised to find their scheme very raw, not half so far advanced as my own, and the preliminaries were yet to be established before subscriptions could be asked. I went with their deputation to the secretary of state, but the interview was unsatisfactory. There seemed to be no definite plan formed, and, from that day, I resolved to proceed independently of them. Accordingly, I took my own course, and resolved to form a provisional committee of gentlemen, who would afterwards agree to act as directors.

In this I was again driven from my purpose. I could find no monied house to do as Messrs. Hullet Brothers and Co. had done in the Canada Company; yet still I saw symptoms sufficiently encouraging to entice me on. But, reluctantly, I was obliged to consent to call a public meeting, in order to make the formation of the company originate with a committee, to be appointed from the gentlemen present; thus conniving in a mode of pro-

ceeding which took the initiatory of all proceedings out of my own hands. However, it was only by submitting to this arrangement that I could hope to succeed, and I therefore yielded to the necessity.

After some requisite preparations, the company was duly formed—directors were appointed, by whom I was unanimously elected provisional secretary, but, from the causes which I have stated, I soon felt myself more subordinate than if the plan of the company had been formed in private, under the auspices of a house by whom it could be recommended. Indeed, in no case whatever do I think any plan can be so well formed by a board, as by an individual offering a specific scheme for consideration. The result of the wisdom of several exercised over the details of a specific plan is always preferable, when it can be obtained, to any plan formed by the same collective talent.

CHAPTER XII.

Schemes and projects.

But of all projects of a great kind, after the colonial plans, was one which is so feasible, that I feel myself almost blameable for not setting seriously about the promulgation. A plan for making, at, comparatively, a small expense, the city of Glasgow a sea-port.

I have frequently mentioned the idea of rendering the river Clyde navigable, by damming above the bridges; but this magnificent scheme, as it may be called, has never been explained, lest it should be undervalued. It occurred to me, or rather, was confirmed to me, by the plan of the wet docks at Bristol.

It is to dam the river across, at a short distance below the entrance to the Forth and Clyde canal, and to make Bowling Bay a harbour. By this plan, the river above would be as one vast wet dock to the Broomielaw at Glasgow; the navigation in it would be uninterrupted without being affected by any tide, and even by Inchennun there might be a water intercourse established with Pais-

ley. To those who know the localities, the amazing advantages of the dam proposed will at once be recognised.

The manner in which this great project may be carried into effect, is not the least of its merits.

My notion is, that somewhere at the spot pointed out, a dam should be constructed with a side outlet * for the river, and locked down from the dammed up waters, to the harbour in Bowling Bay. This is all that is requisite, and the mode of doing it is equally simple.

When on the great breakwater at Plymouth, I thought I could discern a mode of river dams, that might be cheaply attempted.

I would have the dam proposed, to cross the Clyde at Bowling Bay, formed of two parallel mounds, in order that the space between them might be filled with earth, and puddled, to prevent leakage. The walls of the dams I would have of stones, loosely shot, like those of the break-

* The term "outlet" is used here merely to remind the reader, if he has observed the works at Bristol, of the means of carrying off the river; but my project is to make the dam a location for mills, and to carry off the water in separate channels, by which, I conceive, a power for driving machinery would be obtained, at least equal to all the steam engines in Glasgow. The very saving in fuel would be to an inconceivable extent. I have not examined the Irwall at Manchester, but I will, if ever there again. The Liffey, at Dublin, is very manageable. Indeed, my idea is adapted to all streams, for wherever there is a running water, there is a power, a true perpetual motion, for every thing, even to the kindling of a fire.

water, but, not having the sea to resist, they would not require to be so large; abundant materials are close at hand,—I need only mention Dunbuck hill.

The locks, communicating with the tide harbour, should be formed of iron plates, and should at least be two; one for outward, and the other for inward bound vessels. Whatever more this superb convenience would require, in the shape of wharfs and warehouses, could be gradually supplied.

In contemplating this improvement, I was necessarily led to think of the means by which it might be accomplished, and these seemed as accessible, if I may so speak, as the materials.

The common way for raising the capital to execute docks and canals is, by levying a tonnage for income,—a duty on vessels using the wet dock or canal—but I would not have recourse to a tonnage duty alone, I would levy a tax on the rental of all Glasgow. It would require only to be a small rate, and as all the city and land, especially on the banks of the river, would partake of the benefits, it could not be objected to. I wish my friends in Glasgow would think seriously of this project; it is no idle dream, nor formed without serious cogitation: lame as I am, I would undertake the superintendence, and surprise them

with the moderation of the cost, finishing it in a summer.

The mode of providing the means of accomplishing this undertaking, gave rise to an idea that almost deserves to be considered as of national importance. It seems to me that there is some great error *now*, in making those using the high-roads, support them. The whole realm is benefited by these roads, and it is not a wise policy to tax only the traffic and travelling upon them, by the tolls, for their maintenance. It appears to me, that it would be more just to impose a general tax on the whole kingdom, and remove the turnpikes entirely. The amount of the tax requisite could be easily ascertained, and local boards might be appointed, in place of the existing trustees*.

I have not, however, enumerated all my notions, nor disclosed the half of my projects.

Among others, under the old royal right to treasure trove, a measure of some fiscal importance, I have thought, might be formed. It is well known, for example, that by prescription

* The annual expense of the roads is estimated at about £1,500,000, supported by the tolls; instead of which, I would propose an addition, to what is at present paid, in taxes on commodities most generally in use. The money *is* paid by the nation, and to the nation at large it should not make any difference. It would be an advantage by a tax, for it would save the expense of toll-houses, &c.

many debtors acquire, permanently, unclaimed debts, and that numerous balances, to a great amount, remain long forgotten, almost unknown, by legatees, in the hands of merchants and bankers, and individuals. I would have these monies annually collected and paid into an office, which should pay them over, after an additional period, to the state.

This notion has long been a favourite, for although it might be attended with difficulties, I can discern none that may not be overcome. I spoke of it one day, incidentally, to the Earl of Ripon, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, but my own affairs, since that time, have left me no leisure to follow it up. The attempt, however, to carry it into effect, might raise a sad outcry with many at first.

Connected with the inquiries to which the idea of government, asserting its prerogative over unclaimed debts, gave rise, I was induced to consider the loose state of the usage with respect to mercantile copartners; and I thought it admitted of an easy improvement, which I offered to carry into effect, many years ago, without any expense to government; namely, by requiring all copartneries to register themselves, and to publish, annually, a red book of the partners in each concern. In numerous firms, there are sleeping partners and quiescent

sharers of profit, not easily attainable by creditors. I proposed to employ the post-masters, in each district, to keep the registers, and to transmit periodical returns to central offices in each of the three capitals, London, Dublin, and Edinburgh. The plan is somewhere among my papers.

When the public humanity was outraged by the numerous prosecutions for forgeries, some years ago, on the small notes of the Bank of England, I was led to consider the subject.

It seemed to me that the bank, artists, and ingenious men, who engaged in the research to discover the desideratum, were on a wrong scent. That the case was one which did not admit of a perfect remedy, but only of an approximation. Years, however, passed before I was satisfied with my own plan. Indeed, it was not until the Canada Company was established, that it was brought into any thing like a practical form.

What one man can do, I am certain another can imitate, and accordingly concluded that the utmost approximation which could be made, was by the excellence of the art exhibited, and the number of different artists employed. Upon this principle I formed, for the Canada Company, a note for monies, to be deposited in London, negociable in America.

The paper was made with the utmost skill,

letter press, copper-plate, and wood engraving were combined; I intended to add lithography and cross-hatching*, but, being obliged to go abroad while the note was in process, it was never finished as I intended, though it has been issued. Lately I have given the specimen to my friend, Mr. Martin, to add line engraving and mezzotinto to the other arts enumerated, which will produce a note that will be extremely difficult, even for two or three superior artists, to imitate, yet at once recognisable by its peculiarities, thereby rendering the forgery palpable. Possibly I may hereafter shew the note to some of the Bank Directors, for now, when it is so well understood that paper money must be common in so extensive a commercial country, and in which, and in its dependencies, the circulation of bank paper must more and more prevail, a matter of this sort is of vast importance. What we call money, is but the representation of portions of property, and it now no longer admits of question, that, except in the change requisite for small dealings, money, notwithstanding all the balderdash of bullion committees, must take, for general transactions, the form of orders on paper, or notes, or bills of exchange.

* I must suppose this art is now very little known. I have never seen a specimen of the present age, but I am acquainted with it.

CHAPTER XIII.

Tontines.—Plan of emancipation for the slaves.—Scheme of colonial currency.—Legislative reform.

Since I became acquainted with the tontine principle of raising capital, it has always occurred to me, that it was more applicable to national transactions, than those comparatively small public undertakings, for which it is commonly resorted to, and in a jocular scheme for paying off the national debt by it, in the course of one hundred years, without imposing any burthen on the country, a serious idea occurred to me.

In public works, such as canals, docks, and things of that sort, from which the returns are slow, and sometimes problematical, and for which the capital money requisite is raised by shares, I imagined, that were it raised on tontine principles, through the medium of government, a public beneficial result would accrue; thus,

When a canal is projected, the plan should be submitted to government, and when approved, and the estimate of cost sanctioned, an annual sum should then be appropriated by the state, and on

this annual sum, from the very first, the capital required should be raised by way of tontine.

Suppose a canal is to be undertaken, which shall cost five hundred thousand pounds, government might, I conceive, set apart from the public revenue an annual sum, which should be less than the legal interest of the capital, and a sum, say fifty thousand pounds, as a reversionary sum, to be divided at a fixed period among the then survivors of the shareholders, and employ in the execution, optionally, the soldiers of the standing army, with additional pay.

The effect of such an arrangement would, I conceive, be;—

First. The amount at which the work was estimated, would come into the hands of government from the shareholders.

Second. The shareholders would at once receive interest on their advance, which, though lower than the legal rate, would be compensated by the chance of participating in the reversionary sum.

Third. The employment of the soldiers on the works at a small additional pay, would, especially in a time of peace, be highly advantageous; and,

Fourth. The dues to be collected when the work should be finished, would be an addition to the public revenue.

It is not for me to offer any argument here in

favour of notions like these; they are only stated as illustrative of the author's turn of mind, and partly as hints for others to examine. To proceed, however, with my ideas.

From early associations I was induced to take a particular interest in the West Indian slave question, arguing the necessity of making some provision for the negroes before emancipation, and claiming for the planters compensation for depriving them of their property. The abolition of slavery I never thought could be a question, the justice of the measure was indisputable, and I have said very little upon that point, considering the whole objection to be comprehended in the two points just stated.

Government have now settled all debate respecting the question of emancipation. It is, however, with no arrogance that I venture to state here a project for emancipation, which has been partly published; viz., to divide the field negroes from those of the boiling-house, and to consider the former as a peasantry, and the latter as manufacturers; the one subsisting by the fruits of their own labour, and the others on wages derived from the proprietors of the boiling-houses.

This division has the advantage of at once providing for all the boiling-house or manufacturing negroes, in the simplest way possible, leaving only

the field negroes as objects of attention, and as it has not yet been imagined to give the field negroes the estates of their masters, I suppose a rent might be raised from the land ; I would, therefore, propose that the estates should be subdivided into farms, and let for rents payable either in money or produce.

The proprietors of the boiling-houses would thus become the purchasers of the field negroes' crops, and thereby approximate their condition to that of the emancipated serfs of Russia.

It was not merely, however, to thinking thoughts, which might be considered as the nebulæ of schemes, that I was so much addicted. I often wrote out my projects at great length, and endeavoured to explain how they might be carried into effect, performing, in some sort, what the Marquis of Worcester formerly did for his inventions, but in a much more minute and practical manner. As an instance, I give in the Appendix a project for placing the colonial currency, and the medium of remittances, on a better footing than at present. I have only inserted it to illustrate my custom, and because it was the first speculative paper printed at Guelph, where I early encouraged a printing press to be established.

This practice of committing the outlines of my schemes to paper, and considering them from time

to time, began so early with me, that I have no remembrance of its commencement; but one of the first germs, in this shape, was made of legislative reform, which I shall quote, not for its merits, but as a cub licked into as much form as its nature could well endure.

My tory notions rejected all transformations. It seemed, almost innately to me, that the natural order of things was not to abrogate or abolish existing systems, but only to foster the growth, if the expression may be used, of tendencies, and accordingly I came, when young, to the conclusion, that the possession of wealth was, in the British constitution, the criterion of ability and understanding.

When I made this induction, it seemed to me, that since the latest modification of our governmental institutions was established, there had been a vast accumulation of national wealth, which was totally without political weight; it had no representation, was affected by proceedings over which it had no controul, and that the reform wanted, was to let this wealth have its natural influence.

The enumeration of the things in which it consisted, were, property in canals and docks, and all public works of a joint-stock nature; machines and factories, the shipping, the capital in trade, the public stocks, &c., in fact, all that species of property detached from the soil. The time

I regarded as gone by, in which the soil was the only property that should be represented. To be sure, the skill possessed by burgesses was deemed equivalent to property, but the wealth which originated in that skill was nugatory.

Whether, in this view, I was right or wrong, would be of no use now to ascertain, but on this fulcrum I proposed to raise my lever of reformation, and the scheme was simply this :—

It was only to authorize the sheriffs of counties to issue, at a fixed rate, charters, to exercise the elective franchise, similar to the certificates issued in London when livery is taken up, making the privilege wholly optional, but accessible in every shire, to give a vote at the election of the members.

Besides extending political influence to the possessors of property who had none, a revenue might be obtained to the state, from the price chargeable on granting the charters.

This plan of parliamentary reform, is less operose than that which has been adopted. However, it becomes not me to say so; though, of course I am privileged, like the crow, to think my own bird the whitest.

CHAPTER XIV.

A constellation and a planet.

An autobiography is sufficiently egotistical, without seeking for occasions to speak of one's self relative to encounters with eminent persons; besides, it is not pleasant to survivors to hear deceased friends familiarly spoken of, nor to living characters to find themselves introduced into any book, merely because they accidentally have happened to be in company with the author. Perhaps these pages lose in attraction by my acute sense of this truth, but there are a few occasions on which, I may be pardoned for thinking, the rule will admit of legitimate exceptions.

One particular manifestation of stars rose negative in my horoscope.

The Earl of Blessington had often intellectual parties, selected with solicitude, at his table, and, one day, the Countess resolved to have, for her friends,

"A feast of reason and a flow of soul;"

for which purpose some of the most brilliant orbs of London were brought into conjunction. Her

ladyship, in asking me to be a gazer, told me what phenomena would shine out, assuring me that many a day might come to pass before the cycle of such another meeting would come round, nor, indeed, was it possible to conceive that so many accomplished characters could be assembled, some of them greatly distinguished for their conversational brilliancy, without eliciting sparkles and scintillations worthy of being ever held in remembrance. Alas! empty, as musty filberts, are all earthly expectations! It proved one of the dullest congregations, that ever sat making long faces together in a conventicle.

When the company adjourned to the drawing-rooms the aspect of things rather improved, and the dread of one another, to which, no doubt, the dullness of the dinner-table may be ascribed, was lessened by the scattering, and by others coming in, —but a more complete failure cannot be imagined; in all social ease, it was below a very common party; nevertheless to me one incident was memorable.

I was standing near a window, in one of the back drawing-rooms, when Earl Grey and Mr. Canning did me the honour of addressing me. From the place in which I stood, there was no moving, nor was I much inclined, for, after a short conversation, they began to converse together, and I became in-

terested. The opportunity of comparing two such eminent men, was too precious to be neglected.

Whether owing to the impression left on me by "the dirgie" of the game in the dining-room, or really to some greater dignity of manner, I shall not attempt to determine, but Earl Grey, both in colloquial taste and expression, seemed decidedly the superior. His remarks were not less neatly and simply made, but there was a sustained aristocracy about him exceedingly characteristic, and, I should think, from the tones of his voice, and his general deportment, he must have been very pleasing to those with whom he was intimate.

Mr. Canning had more of the House of Commons about him, with something like pertinacity, especially when there was any difference in opinion between them, and the conversation, happily, was apt to bring out peculiarities of that kind; indeed he differed with his noble antagonist, I thought, as briskly as if they had been discussing the previous question elsewhere; but the matter in question was no less debateable.

At Earl Grey's elbow stood a beautiful marble statue of a female in fashionable nudity, and their debate arose, from observing her feet, respecting the point of beauty in the female foot; his Lordship maintaining that it consisted in a certain

smoothness of fleshy fullness, Canning thought the reverse, and finding themselves as little like to agree as on a matter of the *status ante bellum*, Sir Thomas Lawrence, who was of the party, was appealed to. He, of course, sided with the Earl, but Canning was not satisfied, and continued the controversy. Sir Thomas, as all the world knows, was a very saponaceous character, but, I suspect, not possessed of the most mellifluous spirit. Being pricked by the pugnacity of Canning, he said, that if there were no other way of convincing him, he would call in the Countess, and ask her to show her foot. "Ah!" replied Canning; "if you will do that, I'll say black is white, and give in."

Eaves-dropping was, on this occasion, very pardonable. Two of the first rival orators of any age disputing about a point of beauty, and referring to the most graceful artist then in the world! Besides, three such heads together, so superior, so alike, and yet so different! Verily, the craniologists may know a skull from a turnip after all that Christopher North has said.

Among other distinguished acquaintances made at the Earl of Blessington's, I recollect, with particular pleasure, that of the celebrated Dr. Parr. Not only because there was much about his character, according to my own heart, but from an odd circumstance attending the commencement of

our intimacy. The Countess mentioned, one day, that he was to dine with her the next, and asked me to meet him, adding, when I had accepted the invitation, that " as the doctor always dined early, to come an hour, at least, sooner than usual."

In going to St. James's Square, both she and the Earl were from home, and the learned doctor was sitting alone in full canonicals, when I was shewn into the library.

Being thus tête-à-tête, we fell into conversation, and, gradually thawing towards each other, at last became quite fluent, till his racy laugh and grotesque elaboration of phraseology, tinted with a lisp, made us, long before the rest of the company came, cordial friends. I do not remember what passed, it was probably not remarkable, but he gave me a descriptive account of a visit he had paid to Edinburgh, full of curious caricature and strangely assorted images.—Ah, my poor Athens, thy swans are all geese!

It was impossible, notwithstanding the droll originality of his humour, not to discern that there was a quaint kind of affectation about him, which habit had made to sit so easy as to be almost equal to innate eccentricity. Soon after, next day or so, he called on me, and this voluntary overture to friendship, from such an eruditical personage, I have always considered as an honour.

Many able friends of Dr. Parr have described his peculiarities, and that apparent disregard of etiquette, which he whimsically practised to attract notice; but there was in his character a fund of good nature, which often called forth feelings at once of regard and kindly ridicule, that few could relish more than himself. On that evening he had his pipe brought in, as usual, after dinner; and the servants, not being accustomed to such a ceremony in the house, had neglected to provide him with a basin. The doctor, however, merely noticing the omission, rose, and going to the side-board, which was gorgeously ornamented with gold and silver vessels, brought away a golden chalice, and, placing it at his feet, found, till a basin was brought, that it answered the purpose equally well.

CHAPTER XV.

Origin of the interview between Sir Andrew Wylie and King George the Third; with anecdotes of other members of the royal family.

At the suggestion of a friend, I am induced to mention several accidental circumstances, which he thinks will be amusing to my readers, particularly to give an explanation of the origin of the interview, in Windsor Park, between Sir Andrew Wylie and George the Third. He informs me, that it is considered as the transcript of a real occurrence, and that I am supposed to have had, myself, a meeting with his majesty similar to the scene described; otherwise, it is thought, his familiar manner could not have been so represented.

The supposition is not correct in fact, but the impression which I entertain of two droll incidents with the "half gilly, half gutchard"* old king, has contributed to the force of the picture. Some eight and twenty years ago, my friends, Park and Spence, were in London, and I went with them to see Windsor Castle. Wyatt's great staircase was then nearly finished, but the interior scaffolding was not all removed. In looking at the construction, I

* "The gutchard loads the gilly's arm,
The bairn the mither's breast."

got up the main flight of steps, and was gazing about, when the king was announced. Before I could get down, his majesty, with the architect, came in, and I was obliged, in consequence, to remain for some time standing where I was.

The king observed us, particularly myself, who was so conspicuous, and lingered with Mr. Wyatt, until he had satisfied his curiosity by looking at us; speaking all the time, " his tongue never lay," and looking about as he was speaking. It was evident that he spoke more at random than seriously addressed the architect, being occupied in noticing us. Something in his manner drew my attention, and from that interview, which lasted probably several minutes, I caught a durable remembrance of his peculiarities.—I see him still.

The other occasion was still more characteristic of the good intentioned venerable man. It was on the morning of that day, on which he dissolved the parliament of the whig administration, formed after the death of Mr. Pitt. I happened to be with a friend, at morning prayers, in the oriel chapel of the Castle. The king was there, and the late princess Amelia, with a few attendants, besides the gentlemen of the chapelry; in all, about twenty persons. It was a sight worthy of remembrance. The old man remained seated, with an humble worshipping demeanour, while

the prayer for the king was said, but he stood up, and repeated aloud, with pathos, the petition for the people.

With this really touching solemnity, all gravity, however, fled from me. It is well known, that his majesty was very near-sighted, a defect which caused him to hold the prayer-book close to his face: over the top of the leaves, with the sly simplicity of an urchin at school, he frequently took a peep at us, but whenever he caught my eye, cowered, as it were, down, afraid, and "conned his task" in the most exemplary manner. The way he did this was exceedingly amusing; but the worst of it was, that I could not conceal the effect, and accordingly "I and the king" continued to play at bo-peep during all the remainder of the service.

To these two incidents, as they may be called, I owe those particular traits of individuality which have been embodied in the scene with Sir Andrew Wylie; and which, I must believe, are not unlike. I know, from good authority, that George the Fourth remarked, in reading the description, it was "by far the likest portrait of his majesty he had ever seen."

It often struck me, that the late Duke of Kent had much of his father's manner. I was, for many years immediately preceding his death, honoured with his royal highness's condescension, and I have

still, among my papers, several curious documents which he gave to me, illustrative of domestic matters in the royal family. The occasion was this: circumstances, which need not be explained, led him to incur debts, and he was advised, I think foolishly, to apply to parliament to discharge them. He mentioned the circumstance to me, and I took the liberty of at once condemning the advice. From less to more, he mentioned it had been suggested to him that he had a legal claim. This I knew he had not; and sensible, that an application on such a ground might lead to unpleasant discussions, I recommended him to consult competent legal advisers.

His Royal Highness, knowing that I was acquainted with Sir Archibald Macdonald, who had been Chief Baron, put the papers into my custody, to shew to him, and requested me to sound him on the subject. Sir Archibald, at once, pronounced the same opinion that I had done, and went immediately to Sir William Grant, the eminent Master of the Rolls, who also concurred, and strongly deprecated any sort of public proceeding. I reported progress, and, in the end, the Duke did not apply for public money, though he conferred on the subject with different influential gentlemen.

Among these papers, was a long well written letter, by the Duke himself, to his brother the

Prince Regent, noticing some of the circumstances alluded to. His Royal Highness sent a groom to me for the copy of this letter, before five o'clock in the morning, on the day he left London for the last time, when he went to the west of England: the other papers he allowed to remain.

By the way, to this untimously sending of the groom, "thereby hangs a tale", which should be told as an anecdote of that singular good nature, which is peculiar to the members of the royal family.

His Royal Highness was in the practice of commanding me to come to him, often at times very inconvenient; frequently, between five and six o'clock, which was my dinner hour. This had occurred more than once; and one day, when I was engaged to a particular party, it so vexed me, that without once, in my fit of self-absorption, thinking of his rank, I resolved to have an end put to the custom. Accordingly, frying with anger, and growing fiercer, as I walked faster through Hyde Park to the palace, by thinking of the inconvenience, I was shewn into the room where the Duke was sitting, and began immediately to deliver myself of my cogitations. He listened for a short time, and, before I had done, gave an exceedingly good-natured laugh at my remonstrance. It dissolved the spell; I saw at once my absurd viola-

tion of etiquette, and knew not where to look. But, with a kind of boyish playfulness, he good-humouredly admitted the justice of my complaint. After that time, he generally requested me to come at hours which he thought would be convenient.—With the exception of this final message, he was always very considerate. An early riser, the hour was of no importance to him.

I have also had occasion to be sensible of the affability of the Duke of York, on several particular occasions; quite often enough to justify a man in my station to be more than pleased. It will be recollected, that a public dinner was arranged in commemoration of George the Third, ostensibly, but really to get up a subscription to defray the expense of a monumental group of sculpture. Nothing could be more flattering than the prospect; the Duke of York agreed to take the chair, and the whole clanjamphry of the court promised to attend. But, after all "this beauteous dawn", some of the back-stair gentry went to his Royal Highness, and remonstrated with him against countenancing such a subscription; the Duke, in consequence, determined not to go, which was, of course,

"A sign for all the courtiers to be sick."

It was evident, that every one who had taken

an interest in the festival, stood on the imminent verge of ridicule. It could not be put off without great expense. I went to Lord Blessington, who was one of the stewards, and represented to him how we all stood. After much consideration, it was determined to try how we could work upon the Duke; so, accordingly, we walked to the Horse Guards together, and got his Royal Highness's promise to come, on condition that nothing should be said about the subscription. The dinner thus passed off "charmingly well," with all its constellations, and I dare say is remembered even to this hour; but the monumental group "lies mouldering in the clay", nor has the secret of the duke's coming to the barren feast, been, till now, disclosed.

The Duke of York, like all the refined of the human race, had a very civilized regard for choice cookery. Once, at some Scottish feast, or dinner of the Highland Society, I was sitting opposite, when, with an air, the landlord placed before him a *haggis*. It was evidently ill made; the bag was dingy,—altogether an ugly, flabby, desultory trencher-ful of "fat things". The duke, alarmed at the apparition, cried to me, "Galt, what is that?" Fascinated at the sight, I could not resist the temptation, and replied gravely, "a boiled

pair of bagpipes".—Tell it not in Gath,—even at the risk of being reviled in Scotland for ever, his Royal Highness immediately ordered the

"Great chieftain of the pudding race"

ignominiously away *.

For the kind notice of the Duke of Sussex, I have now, in the course of a long period,—about seven and twenty years,—had frequently occasion to feel indebted. His Royal Highness has

* Upon reflection, I think this was at a dinner, when a subscription was raised for erecting the monument to Burns on Doonside. By the by, this same dinner affords a curious example of what such sort of festivals are. It was chiefly got up by the late Sir Alexander Boswell, M.P., (the son of Johnson's Boswell,) and myself.

I have always had a great enjoyment in the mock solemnity of such occasions, particularly when a greenhorn happened to be among the stewards, and who thought all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of them, as seriously important as an installation, or any other of the fine things that make ambition virtue.

On the occasion of the Burns' dinner, Sir Alexander attended a meeting of the stewards a little earlier than the others; only himself and I were present, and he passed the time in rehearsing to me a song he had composed, and afterwards sung at the dinner. The stewards being long of coming, he told me of a meeting at Ayr, for raising the funds for the Monument, where *he* was the Meeting, being himself the only person present, and, of course, in the chair; moving and seconding the different resolutions, which were unanimously adopted. I enquired, if there were a vote of thanks, as customary, for his able conduct in the chair.

At the dinner alluded to, there was such a congregation of "drouthy neighbours", that they drank much more than the stewards' fund could afford, and would have made a large hole in the subscription, but the baronet and myself agreed that an attempt should be made to tax the stewards for an additional guinea. Much to their honour, this was all contributed; at least, very little was outstanding when I

always treated me with the greatest condescension; invited me to dine with him at the palace, and to his conversations; but his uniform kindness has been more valued that even these distinctions *.

To the other members of the royal family, I am unknown; but the late king, when he read the Spaewife, was pleased to express a wish that the author should know it had given him much pleasure, and spoke to me on my first introduction at court; an honour, as I was told.

I mention these things, because the propriety of doing so has been suggested to me; at the same time, that I frankly confess, marks of distinction have been ever agreeable to me, but I have great doubts of having accomplished any thing deserving

paid the amount of the subscription to Bailie Auld, of Ayr. The amiable Bailie presented me with a *quaigh*, made out of one of the rafters of Alloway kirk, for the trouble I took on the occasion, so much did he seem to take a personal interest in the proceeding. I wonder when men cease to be children: my eldest son, when a Solomon of some three or four years old, remarked, very sagely, that "papa was the biggest boy he ever knew." When first elected a director of the Highland Society, my old friend, General Stewart, of Garth, made me a present of a Celtic dress, and a magnificent plume of eagle's feathers, and it was on the first occasion afterwards, when I played at Highlanders, that the boy, in serious admiration, said this.

* Among the treasures of his princely library, he possesses a vast collection of bibles; I know not how many now, thirteen hundred copies, it was said, of different editions. Happening to mention this to my friend Mr. R. G., of Whitehill, near Glasgow,—to whom I am indebted for the story of the Entail,—"Ah," said he, "it's no better than Solomon's wives and concubines,—vanity of vanities."

of notice. The man does not know himself, who is not constantly apprehensive lest he mistake, in his vanity, notoriety for reputation: the recognition of the privileged great of society is not of any value, without the consciousness of having done something to deserve it.

CHAPTER XVI.

Conclusion.

The task I proposed to myself, when I undertook this work, is drawing to a close. I cannot prolong the termination without referring to incidents, in which the general reader can have little sympathy, and these I have hitherto studiously avoided; in those where perhaps the resolution to do so is not conspicuous, I have yielded to constraint in order to vary the narrative, rather than to a disposition to talk complacently of things agreeable to myself. I hope this is obvious; if it be not so, that the blemish is not prominent;—at all events it is now too late to make any correction, for the printing and composition have gone on together, and I have only a few sentences more to say in conclusion.

There is a time of life when every man, in spite of himself, estimates his luck in the world. If he have been fortunate, he then becomes more arrogant, and if the reverse, he sighs in secret for some

visible disaster, that, springing not from himself, may account to others for the pale cast of his reflections.

About the midsummer of 1832, I had a lively perception of having reached that period. My thoughts involuntarily reverted to the influential occurrences of my past life, and as often led me to conclude that my energies must have been unwisely directed, or that I had been pre-ordained to make many ineffectual efforts. Doubtless, self-esteem inclined me rather to blame the stars, than my own judgment.

One day, at this climacteric epoch, I felt myself unwell, and, returning home, sent for the doctor; soon after I was struck with paralysis, which greatly affected my left side. The stun, however, as it may be called, was not of long duration, but the malady continued, and, from the time of that event, I have been an invalid.

As I had been much worse with a nervous complaint long ago, when I went to the Mediterranean, my spirits were not much depressed, and for several weeks, though lame, I did not despair of ultimate recovery. But I had soon reason to suspect that I was encouraging a new deceitful hope. Lady H. E. requested Sir Henry Halford to call on me, and although I had the most implicit confidence in my own medical friends, Dr. Anthony

Todd Thomson, and Dr. M'Kellar, I inferred, from something which fell from him accidentally in conversation, that I was not beyond the reach of another stroke. Whether faith in his casual expression, inspired by his known attention to climacterical symptoms, or to his approval of my treatment, which did not answer my own wishes, had any effect on me, I know not, but from the period of his visit I inwardly doubted if I ever should recover; nor was this long a malady of the imagination. In the course of ten days or so after, I was awoke in the night by a strange noise in my ears, and the sensation as if something had gone wrong internally. I had been reading an account of Garrick's last illness sometime before, and my condition seemed much like what his had been, which his doctors pronounced mortal. Though there was an assurance in what I felt, that the catastrophe would not be immediate, I have yet had no reason to doubt that Death was "meddling" with my "inside." However, he did not think fit to close his clutches, and I grew better; his intrusive fingers are, however, still there,—but he has hold of all men.

I seemingly speak of the event with levity, but really do not pretend to look on the King of Terrors with less awe than my neighbours; although apt at times, notwithstanding the strictness of my belief in predestination, to wince a little at

the thought of having been sent into "this breathing world" to accomplish no purpose, but only to endure "the ills that flesh is heir to," and to ponder why the human faculties cannot always discern the goodness which may be in the tendencies of Providence.

But to conclude: one morning, in going to the city, I was taken very unwell, with a great confusion in my head, and was compelled, in consequence, to ask for a glass of water, in a shop in St. Paul's Church Yard, to prevent me from fainting. Revived by the draught, I got close to Bow Church, when, again becoming ill, but again recovering, I took a coach to the office. Feeling, however, my indisposition increase, I went home, and sent for the doctor. About a couple of hours after, I was instantaneously smitten by another violent stroke of paralysis, which deprived me of the power of my right side, and greatly increased the existing weakness of the left leg, rendering me unable to turn in bed unassisted.

I did not, for some time, expect that I was ever again to be abroad, but with treatment which must be considered to have been skilful, I have recovered some use of my limbs, and can write legibly, though slowly; but what purpose can be served by concealing from myself, the valetudinarian—the

sheer hulk—I have become. A man who has suffered many strokes of paralysis, three of them very severe, has received nothing to be proud of; and yet, odd as it may seem, there is consolation in the calamity. No one can now doubt, that I am justified in reckoning myself among the unfortunate.

N.B. 4th September, 1833.—Lord Bacon somewhere says, that if a man can only wait, he will generally attain his ends. A striking instance of the wisdom of this maxim has been shewn to me since this final sheet has been sent to press.

Within these three days, I have received information, that nearly the capital sum of all my secured debts has been paid; but it has been at a sad sacrifice—those, of course, for which no security was granted, do not yet participate, but about ten shillings in the pound, on the amount of all I owe, has been already paid, some of the debts in full, with interest.

The reader will, I hope, also rejoice with me, on learning that my plans for the improvement of Upper Canada are authorized, in a great measure, to be renewed. The immigration, which it was

the purpose of these plans to attract, had subsided, and the effect must soon have been felt by the Canada Company; indeed, I cannot conceive how that class of persons, of whom emigrants chiefly consist, could be supposed to people the forests, if they did not find employment there.

I have likewise to acknowledge, as a favour, that the Directors of the Company have recommended my second son to be received into their service in the province.

But, although in making this postscript, I have inexpressible pleasure, there is nothing to induce me to desire any thing in the narrative to be changed. The fact, of the Canada Company being one of the most flourishing concerns in London, is the vindication of my scheme and plans. In little more than one year, the shareholders have made above four hundred thousand pounds, a consideration that allays my sense of disappointments and ruin; but still, I claim the privilege of humanity. The victim of that recklessness of consequences, to which the decisions of public bodies are ever liable, but yields to the weakness of his nature, when he regards the causes of suffering as crimes.

I have since received from the Earl of Dalhousie the following letter, which, while it is very gratifying

to me, shows that, perhaps, the Canada Company were less to blame for the treatment with which they have rewarded me, than I have supposed. I, therefore, give it entire, both for their sake and my own. Possibly, intensity of feeling may warp one's judgement, but I can have no wish to misrepresent any fact; and, in the preceding narrative, I believe myself to have indulged in no exaggeration.

"Dalhousie Castle, 31 Aug. 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I do feel, and ever shall feel, the warmest interest in the welfare of that country in which I spent nearly ten years of the happiest days in my life. I sincerely rejoice to learn, by your letter, that the Lower Canada Land Company has closed a bargain with Government for the purchase of large tracts of land. Experience in settling the Canadas has long proved, that to give free grants is not the wisest system to advance the interests, either of the emigrant, or of the province. A man who purchases his land, will proceed to obtain the return for his money more industriously, than one who gets land for nothing;—the one system of settlement encourages industry, the other idleness,—so, at least, we have seen it almost invariably.

"Your Company has now brought a powerful machinery to work for the public good, as well as their own; an energy which the Government was not able to create. I wish you success with all my heart. You have given proof of its effects in Upper Canada, to admit of no doubt of its influence elsewhere.

"When in Canada, I did doubt your success, because I doubted the Company would persevere in so great an outlay as was then proposed; but I only rejoice the more now, in the success of their perseverance. Allow me to repeat my cordial wishes that the Canadas and the Company may equally benefit in the great undertaking.

"My physicians have banished me (not fourteen years) to Nice, during this approaching winter; but, in my own mind, if Scotland

won't do for me, I much doubt any other climate will do better. Wherever I go, I shall always entertain that esteem and regard for you, which began and grew in our acquaintance in Canada; and in these feelings always believe me to remain

"Faithfully yours,

"DALHOUSIE."

"John Galt, Esq."

While this sheet was at press, and I expected to conclude my narrative with something less dolorous than many parts of it, I was struck with another shock that has rendered my sight ineffectual; thus maintaining the uniformity of my fate in a singular manner. However, I am something like a cat that I was at the drowning of in my boyish years:—a country carter, who looked over my shoulder at the sight, on seeing the poor animal, remarked on the catastrophe, that it would "take pains to kill her."

END OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TO THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE CANADA COMPANY.

OBSERVATIONS and DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE relative to the Address by MR. SMITH, late Accountant and Cashier to the Company.

MR. SMITH, late accountant and cashier to the Canada Company, has published an address to the shareholders, for the purpose of showing that he is a very clever individual; and that he has, like all who obtrude such notions of themselves, been very ill used. In the endeavour, he has thought fit to make a number of accusations against Mr. Galt, (who was the superintendent of the Company's affairs in Canada,) of a kind which cannot be treated with silent contempt. It is necessary, therefore, to show what faith is due to Mr. Smith's statements; and the most satisfactory mode of doing so will be to contrast them with official documents, which have passed through his own hands, and with letters of his own writing. A few explanatory remarks are also requisite; but these will be made as brief as possible, for the intemperate and deceptive character of his assertions renders it exceedingly difficult to reply to them, without the hazard of losing that consideration for the reader, which must always be maintained, to secure any degree of attention to a thing so repulsive as a personal controversy.

"He (Mr. Galt, says Mr. Smith,) had obtained from the Managers of the Pulteney Estate, in the State of New York, a complicated plan for the disposal of land, which he adopted for the sale of the scattered Crown Reserves, without communicating with the Court of Directors, or obtaining their sanction; and without considering the difference in the situation of the lands, which rendered this plan, as used without modifications, for the Canada Company, very injudicious and inapplicable; and, what was worse, it never was fairly put into practice, so that a confusion ensued on which I shall have occasion to remark hereafter."

Mr. Galt examined all the forms, books, and details of management in the office of the Pulteney estate. He was permitted to do the same in the office of the Holland Company; and, being further furnished by the managers of both with every particular requisite to enable him to avail himself of the experience acquired by them during a long period of years, he formed from those materials a system of management applicable to the Canada Company. He communicated the results to the Court of Directors, in a despatch dated the 26th of December, 1826.

The despatch is voluminous; but the proprietors can judge of its tenour by the following extracts: and it is in the Canada House, open, of course, to their inspection.—"Circumstances unexpectedly favourable having afforded me an opportunity of acquiring the information contemplated in the 8th and 9th articles of my instructions, of the 4th of September, 1826, I proceed to lay the result before you, being persuaded that I shall not be able to procure better information on that subject, or have it in my power to suggest any system of management superior to the COMBINATION I WOULD MAKE OF THOSE in the offices of the Pulteney Estate and the Holland Company *.

* The Pulteney and Johnstone Estates, and the Holland purchase, are the two greatest of the land speculations in America, since the breaking-up

"With respect to the 8th article, I refer to the subjoined notes bearing the respective titles of 'THE PULTENEY ESTATE' and 'THE HOLLAND COMPANY;' and with respect to the 9th article, I beg leave to state the following points for the immediate consideration of the Court." Mr. G. then proceeded to give his opinion in detail as to what the Company's establishment should be, with the respective allowances to the servants, &c. In being subsequently appointed to carry his plan into effect, he conceived that no stronger sanction or approval of the plan could have been given; nor was request for further information made to him.

The systems in the Pulteney and Holland Company's Offices NOT being exactly applicable to the circumstances of the Canada Company, especially in what respected the Crown Reserves, Mr. Galt, in consequence, framed a plan for them, which has been not merely "put in practice," but constantly acted upon, and with such entire success, that until the office was thrown into confusion by the ignorance of Mr. Smith, not ONE error had occurred. Moreover, before Mr. G. had finally adopted his plan, he invited the principal clerk of the Pulteney office to examine his arrangements and to revise his official forms. The

of those of which they were originally parts. The two former consist of about one million and a half of acres, and the latter of three millions; the one less, and the other more, than the Canada Company's purchase. The Pulteney and Johnstone estates belong to the family of the late Sir William Pulteney; and the proceeds of the sales come to this country. Mr. Williams, of the banking-house of Messrs. Ransom and Co., is the receiver. The Proprietors of the Canada Company may obtain from him some assurance of their ultimate prospects, though time is requisite to realise them. The Holland purchase belongs to an association in Amsterdam and other parts of the Netherlands: above 200,000 industrious inhabitants occupy the lands of the Holland Company: when the purchase was made they contained only a few wild Indians.

question on this point for the proprietors to determine is, Did Mr. G. rightly consider his trust and their interests in adopting so much of a system of management, which experience had matured, as was applicable to the Company, or would it have been wiser in him to have tried some theoretical scheme never attempted before?

"Upon receiving leave to lay out 4,000*l.* in improvements, he commenced upon the largest block, which he named Guelph, that extravagant expenditure, which was continued until it amounted to four times the original grant."

It is natural that Mr. Smith should persist in misrepresenting every thing connected with the Guelph settlement. In an early stage he had pronounced an opinion, both respecting it and the gentleman whom Mr. Galt had appointed overseer of the settlement, which he cannot retract without acknowledging himself guilty of a gross libel. He conceals the fact, that this settlement had proceeded with unexampled rapidity; and that, in consequence, the outlay became of necessity greater than was previously expected. When it was undertaken, the land in the contiguous township was, by the magistrates in quarter session, valued thus:—

"Eramosa:—Price of lands on a credit of four or five years, paying an instalment down, rest bearing interest, 3*s.* 9*d.* per acre. Ready money price, if there have been any such sales within six years, 2*s.* 6*d.* per acre. Fair average price for the vacant lands in such townships, 1*s.* 3*d.* per acre."

Adjoining to the block which is now the township of Guelph lay a large wild tract of the clergy reserves, and, with Guelph, as both were vacant, could not be valued above the lowest rate—one shilling and three-pence. When Mr. Galt left Guelph, the lowest price of the Company's land

there was three dollars, or fifteen shillings, per acre; and sales had been made at higher rates. But, as in due time the whole accounts of the Guelph settlement will probably be laid before the proprietors, it is only necessary at present to quote here a letter, the result of an inspection instituted in anticipation of the misrepresentations which it was expected Mr. Smith would make,—when his character began to show itself;—an expectation largely fulfilled.

"To the GOVERNOR and DEPUTY-GOVERNOR of the Canada Company.

"Guelph, Upper Canada, Feb. 4, 1829.

"GENTLEMEN,

"At the request of John Galt, Esq., superintendent of the concerns of the Canada Company, I have visited this place, viewed the improvements in the village, and examined the roads contiguous to it, made under his orders.

"Considering the short period of time that has elapsed since the village was founded, and that it is only about eighteen months since it was an entire forest, the number of buildings, and the population, are proof of uncommon industry and enterprise.

"I have perused with attention a report made to Mr. Galt by Mr. Charles Prior, of the different improvements made by him on the lands of the Company, under the direction of Mr. Galt, and I have the pleasure of expressing to you my most decided opinion that all the proceedings of Mr. Galt and Mr. Prior have been exceedingly judicious; that the improvements have been indispensable to the sale and settlement of the Company's lands, and that the outlays for mechanics' and labourers' wages are as moderate as is usual in a new and unsettled country; for it is impossible, in such a country, to get good hands without the allowance of high wages, as an inducement to submit to the inconveniences incident to labouring in the wilderness, remote from settlements, where many privations must be endured, and the health greatly exposed. Mechanics' and labourers' wages are uniformly higher than they are after a more general improvement of the country.

"I am of opinion that the sales thus far made have been at good

prices, and the cash payments larger than is usually received from the first settlers in a new tract of land.

"I have examined the books in which sales are entered, and also the forms of certificates and contracts given to purchasers, and the letters addressed to applicants for land: the certificates, contracts, and letters are in a very suitable form, and the books are well adapted to exhibit correct and accurate views of the affairs of the Company.

"It has been found by experience that it is necessary, to the prosperous and successful management of large estates of new land, that the agent or superintendent should be invested with very ample discretionary powers; and it is generally impracticable to promote, in the best manner, the interests of such a concern under restrictions imposed by principals residing in foreign countries, not acquainted with the wants and necessities of a new country, and unable to appreciate the difficulties encountered by the poor people, who are uniformly the first settlers of such a country. In the management of the Pulteney estates in the state of New York, it was found impracticable to execute the instructions of Sir William Pulteney, and he subsequently permitted his agent to exercise as full a discretion in the management of his property as if he had been the proprietor of it. The present resident agent of the Holland Land Company refused to accept his appointment until he was invested with full discretionary powers for the management of the affairs of the Company.

"I understand from Mr. Galt, that his sales are on a credit of five years, one fifth of the purchase-money being paid down. The credit of sales of the Pulteney estates is from seven to ten years; and, I am informed, the latter period is the usual credit granted on sales of the crown lands in Canada by the King's Commissioner. By extending the credit from five to ten years, and, in particular cases, by accepting small sums as first payments, the sales may be considerably increased, much to the advantage of the Company.

"The execution of contracts and other writings in triplicate, to the end that one of the copies may be transmitted to the Company in London, will, in my judgment, be attended with much labour and expense, without any adequate advantage. The transmission of an annual return,—to exhibit the sales of land, the cash collections and expenditure, the lands remaining unsold, the amount of debt due to the Company on sales, and other necessary particulars, would,—by being thrown into a

condensed form, furnish all the information necessary to a proper understanding of the operations of the concern. If the Company should require the transmission to England of original vouchers, it would be necessary to take them in duplicate, a measure which will prove to be very troublesome in so large a business; and I should recommend the verifications of the accounts by oath, in preference to the transmission of vouchers. The trustees of the Johnstone estate at one time required triplicate contracts to be sent to them; but the arrangement proved to be so inconvenient, that they have long since abandoned the requisition, and accepted returns similar to those above mentioned.

"I would recommend, as an improvement of the form of licence granted to a purchaser to take possession of a lot of land on making the first payment, the addition of a clause binding him to dispense with notice to quit, in case it should become necessary, by failure of payment or other cause, to remove him from the land by legal process.

"I think the present office of the Company, in the village of Guelph, is quite insufficient for the convenient and proper execution of so extensive a concern, and that it will be necessary that a larger and more convenient building should be erected. The present occupancy of several different buildings for offices is extremely inconvenient, as it is attended with much loss of time in going from one office to another.

"Upon the whole, I beg leave most respectfully to state to the Company my decided opinion that Mr. Galt's agency has been conducted with sound judgment, a proper regard to economy and the interests of the Company; that his proceedings have promoted their best interests; and, I believe, the Company cannot more effectually promote their own views than by delegating to him the most ample discretionary powers.

"I am, Gentlemen, your humble Servant,

(Signed) "JOSEPH FELLOWS.

"Sub-agent to the Pulteney and Johnstone Estates, residing at Geneva, in the county of Ontario, and State of New York."

What the Directors thought of Mr. Fellows' Report is of course not known, but it might have been communicated to the proprietors, to whom it would doubtless have been satisfactory to know the opinion of a disinterested gentleman, of the greatest experience in the business of any person in

all the United States, as to the expenditure which has taken place, and of the probable effects of it. In the Appendix will be found a letter from Mr. Troup, the principal agent of the Pulteney and Johnstone trust, respecting the general management of Mr. Galt. There are also, in the Appendix, two statements of ALL Mr. Galt's expenditure for nearly two years. He has not materials in this country to show how much of the Guelph expenditure is for saleable and productive buildings, and how much of it debt due by settlers for assistance to them. Mr. Smith states, that the expenditure was four times 4000*l.*, and of course lost money.

The Proprietors must have seen, by what has already been said, that some difference of opinion existed between the Superintendent and the Directors as to the expenditure at Guelph. The despatch of the 31st January, 1829, in the Appendix, will explain in what that difference consisted; or, at least, will exhibit the Superintendent's view of the subject, and answer Mr. Smith's charge of extravagant expenditure somewhat more specially than Mr. Fellows's Report.

"By this time the Directors had become very much dissatisfied with Mr. Galt for not having sent home regular accounts of his receipts and expenditure, nor even any satisfactory narrative of his proceedings, nor of the operations he intended to undertake; and, as he had made an application for an accountant to be sent out to his assistance, it was proposed that I should be appointed to that situation. After a very considerable delay, I was at last, in May, 1828, appointed cashier and accountant to the Company in Canada, with a salary of 500*l.* sterling per annum, payable in London, and 250*l.* currency for my expenses in the colony."

As soon as it was determined that Mr. Galt was to remain in Canada, he applied for an accountant, the details of that branch of the business having become too multifarious for him to undertake, with his other duties, and none of his clerks being qualified for the office. It is for the Directors

to explain how it happened that he was allowed to be so long without one, with a business the details of which were daily increasing. There was no confusion up to the period of Mr. Smith's arrival, nor has there been any since he "absconded;" but in the interval during which he attempted to manage the office, the greatest confusion was created in every branch of the business he touched, and it will be long before it can be remedied.

Mr. Galt not only from time to time stated, in his correspondence with the Directors, the amount of his receipts, but actually, as directed, remitted the whole of the first year's receipts, 3340*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* And here it is necessary to mention a remarkable fact, upon which the Proprietors will make their own comments: — By the same mail which brought the order for the remittance, Mr. Galt received a letter from Mr. Smith, advising him not to remit until he should arrive. It is true, that the order for remitting at a very disadvantageous exchange, was a questionable proceeding, but it was the pleasure of the court; and it is for Mr. Smith to explain how he could presume to countermand the order of the Directors, and how he could reconcile it with candour to advise Mr. Galt to disregard his instructions, at a time when, as he says, the Directors were so much dissatisfied.

It is not easy to understand what is meant by a "satisfactory narrative" of proceedings; but the Superintendent, in his communications to the Court, which were generally monthly, and frequently much oftener, informed the Directors of every thing that was either proposed to be done or was doing. Since the appearance of "The Address," the whole of his correspondence has been read over; and he does not see that any one thing which he undertook has not been regularly communicated, while there are several proposed and sanctioned not yet carried into effect.

The idea of a narrative is quite ridiculous under such circumstances; but, in point of fact, he did begin to prepare a general report of his proceedings to send home. Before, however, completing it, he found it would be unnecessary, as it had been anticipated by the fulness of his despatches. This Report, in triplicate, is now in London; and he challenges any one thing to be named or described that he has done which has not been regularly submitted to the Directors, or which has not risen out of sanctioned undertakings, with the single exception of converting a shell of a building at Guelph into a dwelling-house, and that was under circumstances not admitting of delay, a sufficient rent was secured for it before the repairs were commenced.

At the expiry of the first eight months allowed for Mr. Galt's mission, an account of his expenditure was transmitted to London; and, at the expiry of the first year, a statement of the expenditure at Guelph was also transmitted. Had Mr. Galt gone home at that period, according to the original intention, he would naturally have taken all vouchers and documents with him; for he had no clerks qualified to make up accounts properly,—a fact of which the Directors were well aware, for on the 14th September, 1827, (before the expiry of the year,) Mr. Smith himself, in a demi-official letter to Mr. Galt, says:—"M'Gillivray and I had agreed that he would recommend sending you a principal clerk, in addition to the two gone, as a superior one is what you seem in want of most."—"It appears to be the feeling of the others [Directors] that it would be better to wait until you WROTE AGAIN."—Mr. Galt afterwards wrote for an accountant, and Mr. Smith was appointed, but he did not reach Canada till the beginning of July, 1828, ten months after the Court were so sensible that Mr. Galt was suffering the greatest inconvenience for the want of an accountant. It also appears, by a letter from Mr. Smith, dated 22d January, 1828, that

the grievance of conducting so complicated a business without sufficient clerks was duly appreciated; but yet nothing was done to supply the deficiency. His words are :—" I trust all will go on well in future, and that you will get such assistance as will make you comparatively easy."—The leaving Mr. Galt without that assistance was the sole cause of any arrears being in the office ; and, without quoting the letters to which these extracts were replies, it must be evident to the Proprietors, that the blame can with no justice be imputed to the Superintendent.

" Upon my arrival in Canada, I found matters in much greater confusion than I could have supposed ; and had Mr. Galt been a stranger to me, and a man in whom I was no ways interested, I do not think I should have acted ; at all events I should have first written home for fresh instructions," &c.

When Mr. Smith arrived, the desks and books were then just moved from York to Guelph—part of them were actually on the road. It is not usual to find a flitting otherwise than a confusion. That the business itself was in any other confusion than that occasioned by the removal, the Proprietors have the authority of Mr. Smith's veracity for believing.

The best answer which can be given to Mr. Smith's complaint of the personal treatment he received from Mr. G., is to quote from the evidence, which constitutes the Appendix, to a narrative of facts and circumstances respecting Mr. Smith's conduct in Canada, transmitted to the Directors of the Company on the 16th November, 1828. He does not see himself as others see him.

Mr. Dunlop states, 11th November, 1828 :—

" When I returned from Lake Huron, in September last, I found that there had been differences between you, and that you conceived that he interfered in your department. I

was of opinion at the time, that the interference, though teasing, was well meant. I certainly felt that his conduct was annoying, but, not having at that time seen his instructions, I thought him sent out more as a coadjutor than a mere accountant. I can only say, that, in any thing connected with my own department on which I was consulted, he was consulted also; and in one particular, viz. when you ordered me to write Fullarton's instructions, you prevented me sending them off, until I had consulted Mr. Smith. On the general business of the Company he was consulted as often as I was; and I am aware of no instance of any thing undertaken or projected in which he had not a voice. I thought him waspish rather, and impressed with an idea that every man who came into the office did so with the determination to rob the Company; and I often accused him of misanthropy for so doing."

Mr. Wright states, 12th November, 1828:—

"On entering the room where Mr. Smith was sitting with the record-box, my impression was, that that gentleman was not in the best of humours, and that he had complained of the manner in which the records were kept; but on your showing him the books, and explaining their use, he tacitly admitted that a better system could not have been followed."

"EXAMINATION.

"Guelph, 11th Nov. 1828.

"THOMAS B. HUSBAND, the Clerk of the Guelph Settlement, examined.

"1. What is the state of the accounts, at this day, which Mr. Smith has been investigating, and in which investigation you have been assisting him?—The accounts, with the exception of a few, were balanced up to 27th September, and Mr. Smith took the balance-sheet with him, when he left Guelph.

"2. In what have you been engaged, since he left Guelph?—In

bringing down the balances in the ledger, and making up the entries between the 27th September and this day.

" 3. Then, in point of fact, you have not been doing any thing connected with the previous accounts, but only in prospective relation between what has been done, and what may be done. Mr. Smith's investigation, I infer, from what you say, was closed, as to his part, when he took away with him the balance-sheet?—Yes; his investigation was closed.

" 4. But, although the accounts were closed, doubtless prior claims upon them may have come in, which, though belonging to the previous transactions, will fall to be considered in the subsequent?—Yes.

" 5. It would seem, then, that, when Mr. Smith left Guelph, his enquiries, with the exception of such claims, were concluded?—Yes; I so considered.

" 6. Do you consider that he had then finished his enquiries, according to the scope of his obvious intentions? I do not mean to ask, whether you were informed of his intentions or not, but only as to what you understood them to be, from the tenour of his proceedings?—I think he finished what he intended.

" 7. If he had done so, could he ascribe to you, or to any party in the office, that documents and vouchers had been withheld from him, by you or them?—No documents, that I am aware of, were withheld.

" 8. Did you ever refuse to produce to him, any account, document, or voucher for which he enquired?—No: I never did.

" 9. Did you withhold from him any account, document, or voucher, for which, although he did not enquire, his enquiries, by it, might yet have been facilitated?—I withheld from him nothing which I thought he required: in fact, there was nothing withheld from his observation, if he chose to look into it.

" 10. Were you, directly or indirectly, influenced to oppose his enquiries?—No.

" 11. If, then, his enquiries have been defective, will you consider yourself, fairly and candidly speaking, responsible for any deficiency?—I could not have helped him more than I did.

" 12. Then he did not seem, to you, to desire more explanation, vouchers, or facts than you freely furnished?—I consider that the vouchers and papers answered his purpose, although he sometimes gave a damn, and said they were in a state of confusion.

" 13. But, allowing for his damning, what would you think, if he

has charged you with withholding information from him?—I would think he was telling a gross falsehood. I withheld none that I could give.

" 14. Was he not entire master of the office; free to call for every clerk, and every species of information which it was in their power to give?—Undoubtedly.

" 15. Did he intimate to you, that he found every thing in such confusion that he did not know how to act?—Yes; in a blowing-up sort of a way; which I did not heed much, as it was so frequent.

" 16. Did he intimate that he could not make up his accounts?—No; he did not intimate to me that he could not make up his accounts, for he did make up my accounts.

" 17. Did he intimate that obstacles were put to his enquiries?—Not that I recollect of.

" 18. Did he intimate that it would be necessary for him to go to London, to complain, not only of the state of things, but of the disrespect with which he was treated?—No; he did not intimate to me that it would be necessary for him to go to London to complain, but he spoke of Thompson treating him disrespectfully.

" 19. Did he express any opinion as to indications of disrespectful conduct towards him, in particular by Mr. Prior?—Never.

" 20. Did he express any thing of the same kind by Mr. Reid?—Never.

" 21. Did he express any thing of the same kind by any officers of the Company?—No; only he said I did not do right, in stopping away a fortnight, when he gave me a few days' leave of absence.

" 22. How did it happen that he gave you leave of absence at all at that time?—Because I had been kept pretty close at business before, and he thought he could go on for some time without me.

" 23. Do you understand how he was employed during your absence?—He, I understood, from what I saw when I came back, occupied the time in going over the farm-register and the town-lots record, in paying different small accounts, and in going over accounts with people having claims.

" 24. In what manner, generally, has his time been occupied in the office?—In making a formal register, to go by in bringing up accounts and balancing them; in paying off accounts; in charging instalments; in altering the map of the township; in comparing payments for town-lots, instalments of farm-lots, and inserting them in the register.

" 25. From what sources of information did he derive the facts of the payments alluded to, as to farm and town lots ?—In my cash account, and the location ticket-book.

" 26. Then the means existed in your possession, regularly entered, by which he was enabled to ascertain the facts ?—Yes ; every thing was before him. I did nothing after he came, until I had rendered my cash account.

" 27. Did he occupy himself, in the office here, with the general business of the Company, or only with what related to Guelph ?—He went through very little else than what came through my hands, since I came here.

" 28. You know he has been very industriously employed : do you think he had time to attend to more business than he did ?—No.

" 29. Are you aware that he has gone to London ?—No.

" 30. Did you hear of any intention of his going ?—No.

" 31. Are you surprised to hear that he has gone ?—I certainly am.

" 32. Do you think he has carried with him sufficient accounts, documents, and vouchers to enable him to furnish a correct view of the progress and settlement of this township ?—I hardly think he has.

" (Signed) T. B. Husband."

" Guelph, 19th October, 1828.

" At an examination of the clerks, which took place this evening, relative to charges of dishonesty against them and the other servants of the Company, preferred by Mr. Grant, who had been dismissed for something of that sort himself, some observations were made, which led to the following examination of Mr. Hodgert, an occasional assistant in the office :—

" 1. It has been communicated to me, that you have expressed yourself as being in possession of information, derived from Mr. Smith, relative to the concerns of the Company, touching the management, as in my hands : is this true or not ?—In conversation with Mr. Thompson, I mentioned to him, that Mr. Smith had come to this country invested with more power than he was aware of.

" 2. Was this said in the way of caution, or of admonition ?—By way of friendship and caution.

" 3. Then I suppose you had some reason to know that there was a difference between Mr. Smith and Mr. Thompson ?—I have already

said, that Mr. Smith expressed an unfavourable opinion of Mr. Thompson to me.

" 4. How came you to know of any powers with which Mr. Smith was invested ?—Mr. Smith had given me to understand.

" 5. How long have you been acquainted with Mr. Smith ?—Since Mr. Smith first came up to Guelph.

" 6. Did you consider what Mr. Smith said as common talk, or as a confidential communication ?—I certainly was bound to believe what the gentleman said.

" 7. What was the general purport of his communication on that subject ?—To the effect that he was the master of the office.

" 8. In point of fact, do you think that Mr. Smith said to yourself, or was likely to have said to others, any thing implying a right to suspend or dismiss any of the clerks, or change the system of the Company, beyond what might arise in the spurts and ebullitions of temper ?—I believe he was likely to do it, and may have done it.

" 9. Now I ask of you a special favour ; did he ever express any thing to you respecting his opinion of me and my proceedings ?—I beg you will excuse this question."

" Queries and Answers—Mr. Prior, the Overseer of the Guelph Settlement.

" 1. In what way have you observed Mr. Smith, generally, or on particular occasions, conduct himself towards me ?—With respect, but with the *familiarity* of long acquaintance.

" 2. In what way have you observed, generally, or on particular occasions, my conduct towards him ?—Always with great courtesy.

" 3. When have you observed any backwardness on my part to afford him information, or to consult him on the affairs of the Company ?—I thought that, on all occasions, you evinced much solicitude to make Mr. Smith acquainted with, and take his opinion on matters of general interest to the Company, and which had no reference to the accounts.

" 4. In what way have you observed him treat the settlers, and others in the employment of the Company ?—Sometimes, certainly, with a manner approaching to roughness ; but this applies to labourers and tradesmen, and on convictions of convicted or supposed idleness or knavery. This I attributed to his unacquaintance with the manners of the people, and acting upon a temper naturally quick. But, generally,

he appeared to treat the settlers with liberality, and sometimes with kindness.

" 5. Do you think his general manner towards the settlers calculated to bespeak their good-will and confidence in the officers of the Company ?—I can only answer this question by stating, that the impression on my mind is, that his general conduct has been more calculated to inspire the settlers with respect than attachment; for his liberality and kindness will, most likely, be forgotten or not mentioned, his economy will be called parsimony, and his roughness, whether acting under a true or false impression, will undoubtedly go forth to the public, and, proceeding from the head of a department, may have an unfavourable effect.

" 6. Did you observe that I interfered with him in the management of his accounts, considering that his duties were limited to those of an accountant and cashier ?—In no instance.

" 7. Did it ever fall within your observation that he interfered, while I was on the spot, with those duties which immediately belong to my office ?—I do not know in what manner Mr. Smith has interfered, but I presume he had so done; for, on my entering the office one day, I heard you say to him, that you would not allow him to interfere with duties belonging exclusively to your office.

" 8. Did ever Mr. Smith intimate to you that he was possessed of more authority than that of accountant and cashier ?—Never. Farther, I have heard him say to many people that he could not answer their questions or grant their requests : they must apply to Mr. Galt, for that his duties were confined to those of accountant and cashier.

" 9. Did he not intimate to you that he had found things in such a state here, that it would be necessary for him to go home immediately ? —No. On the contrary, just before I set off for the Lake, he told me that he was getting on well with the accounts, and should soon reduce them to the form he wished; certainly, giving me to understand that he had found them better than he expected ; and, from all he said, I received the impression that his anticipations were agreeably disappointed as to the state of things in general.

" 10. In point of fact, did he ever intimate to you that he was going home ?—From every thing I heard him say, I had formed a different opinion.

" (Signed) C. PRIOR.

" Guelph, Nov. 11, 1828.

The following letter is from a respectable old Dutch gentleman, Colonel Van Egmond, formerly in the service of Holland. He is a settler under the Canada Company, and although he does not write very pure English, he is yet a man of a clear head, and well accomplished.

" JOHN GALT, ESQ., Superintendent for the Canada Company, Guelph.

" Guelph, March 26, 1829.

" SIR,

" The report in circulation, that you are going to leave your charge as superintendent, and this country, makes and entitles me to address you these lines.

" You know that I have been one of the best soldiers for the good of the Company; that I have always, at my own expense, and often by attracting ennemity against me, fought its battels; that I have frequently opened my purse, and employed my credit, for to prevent the Company's catle from starvation, and the people in its employ from suffering, likewise, without one farthing of profit for me. All that, because the Company's credit had fallen so low, that the ignorant class of people, (who are just those who allone have such articles for sale,) and brought to *Zero* by the deceptif *fanfaronnados* of Thomas Schmith, Esq.,—by having often a little pile of silver dollars, and a few gold peaces, laying on the writing-table in his office; telling stories, as if he had all the treasures of the East at his command; and paying but a very few, or none at all; and by giving orders, who made laugh all the men of sense who heard of them, and made the Company to a set of ——— I wont say what.

" Further, that I have done work for the Company, at the most moderate prices, and honourably done; and had and have to wait yet for my pay, which, after I had emptied my own purse, forced me to go in debt by borrowing money and buy on credit to my great loss; and I was (what never had happened before during my lifetime of fifty years) shewed, and drag before courts of justice as a male pagant, and had to pay cost.

" If you take in consideration the payment of all the hands and voiturage I have employed, of all the provisions, provender, and furnitures, &c. &c., the time I lost now alredy mounting to 82 days, by

runing after my pay from the Company, and the expenses during the same, you will—you can not be surprised, when I tell you here, that I have already nowe lost above 100*l.* by not getting my pay when due. Certainly but a trifling sum for whealthy man, but a very great one for an old crippel, who lost millions by the French Revolution, and spended the rest during a service of 25 years against its maxims, and who has eight uneducated children to provide for.

" Pray, Sir, dont take this as a personel reproche made to you. No, Sir, your gentlemanlike behaviour, and your reputation all over this country, has only and alone hindered me and many others to employ the law for to obtain owr due.

" Nowe, further, Sir; if you go away without investing other gentlemen with the necessary power for to carry on the works this spring, chiefly on the Huron Tract, and without they are provided with the pecuniary meane for that purpose, then good night for ever to the Company's undertaking, aud I am ruined.

* * * * *

" Sir,

" Your most humble and most devoted servant,

" ANTHONY J. W. G. VAN EGMOND."

With respect to the considerable sums due at Guelph, for which the workmen were clamorous, Mr. Galt, in reply to this charge, which was made originally by Mr. Smith, on the 15th of November last, from New York, explained to the Directors, on the 8th of December, the reason, in these words:—" It has been a principle with me to pay as little money as possible to the workmen in summer, knowing they would require all their earnings to keep them in winter, while working on their own lands. One of the evils which I am now suffering from Mr. Smith's ignorance of the business, and of the mode of managing the sort of people with whom he had to deal, is, that some of those who were paid by him in full, having spent their money, are already besetting me for necessaries for their families."

As to what Mr. Smith deemed for the honour and cha-

racter of the Company, about joining Mr. Galt in drawing bills, &c.—On the 8th of September, Mr. G. drew Mr. Smith's attention to certain articles of his instructions, begging to know " what arrangements had been made for supplying them with money, as the remittance to London * had left him bare, and the locking up † of the receipts took it out of his power to make use of them." This application for information was made so formal, in consequence of a letter, dated the 3d of July, direct from the Court of Directors to the Bank of Upper Canada, ordering that institution to keep all money received by it on account of the Canada Company at the disposal of the Directors only, without explaining to the Superintendent in what way the current disbursements, even such as salaries and official expenses, were to be paid. It was a singular oversight to stop all means of supply, and yet suppose the Company could go on.

Mr. Smith says he stipulated, as the condition of joining Mr. G. in drawing on England, " that all further expenditure should cease, and nothing new be undertaken but what was absolutely necessary." The proprietors are requested to notice, that this was on the 10th of September,—a period of the year when, in Canada, so far from new works upon roads and bridges being undertaken, the inhabitants begin to prepare for the suspension of such out-of-door labours ; and the Canada Company had none other at that time. The stipulation could be regarded as nothing else but an instance of that absurd pretension with which Mr. Smith, as the Yankees would say, had made himself " ridiculous bad," from the time of his arrival.

" However unauthorized that expenditure had been, still, having been done by their agent, the Directors had become liable for it, not

* Mr. G. had remitted the whole of the past year's collection to London.

† Fourth article of Mr. Smith's instruction.

having made public the restrictions they had put upon him. I, therefore, deemed it much more for the honour and character of the Company, at once to join him in drawing the bills necessary to procure the funds to pay them, than to throw the place in complete confusion, and leave the people to starve until we received fresh directions from England. I stipulated, however, with him, that all further expenditure should cease, and nothing now be undertaken, but what was absolutely necessary, and on which I should be consulted; and that he should immediately make up all his accounts, and hand them to me, in order to enable me to draw up a complete state of the Company's affairs in Canada, to be sent home, in time for the meeting of Proprietors, in December. To all this, he gave an apparently full and free consent; but, unfortunately for himself, and for me, he was not sincere: his self-consequence and vanity were hurt by the feeling of any control being put upon his actions, and he had adopted the very erroneous idea, that I had gone out with the determination to find fault, in order to have him superseded. Had any such idea entered my head, my conduct would have been very different, and it would have been better for me; for the fact is, I have sacrificed myself, in endeavouring to save him. Never did a man labour more for another, than I did for him, and I have been very *handsomely* rewarded for it.

"Upon my return to England, I certainly did not meet with the reception I might have expected. Instead of being personally heard, I was directed to put, whatever I had to state, in writing; and, accordingly, I addressed both the Committee of Correspondence, and the Court of Directors, giving the causes which had induced me to return."

Mr. Galt conceived that the fairest course he could take towards Mr. Smith, (believing that person engaged in making up the accounts,) was to have his own accounts classified in his own way, and to send them to London WITHOUT THE VOUCHERS; furnishing Mr. Smith, however, with a copy of them. By this means, it must be evident, the interests of the Company were best consulted, as it rendered the task which Smith had to perform, easier than if he had been left to wade through a mass of unarranged papers and docu-

ments. But it now turns out that Mr. Smith, instead of attending to his instructions and to preparing the accounts and arranging the vouchers, was doing every thing else. In the letter of the 15th of November, from New York, he states, under the head of Guelph, "That no regular map, or, indeed, complete or perfect survey of the township, had ever been made,—two different surveyors having been employed on different parts,—their work joined badly, and their divisions were quite confused. Besides, there was nothing but a paltry sketch of a map on a small scale, filled in many places with imaginary names, and blotted so as to be unreadable. In consequence, the first thing I had to do, was to commence, along with one of the surveyors, a complete revisal of the map, in order to the formation of a new one upon a proper scale, and new divisions, to which was added a regular register, the old one being very imperfect."

The proprietors can judge if this was the sort of work his instructions enjoined, or if this was arranging accounts and vouchers. Mr. Galt's observations on this, dated the 8th of December, are as addressed to the Directors:—

"It was perfectly well known to Mr. Smith, from my correspondence with the Court, that the settlement and survey of the Guelph township proceeded simultaneously. I am really not sure if the survey be yet completed, for the river, I believe, is only partly scaled; nothing, therefore, can be more vile than this libel. But it makes Mr. Smith's ignorance the more apparent. THE MAP OR DIAGRAM WAS OF THE SIZE PRESCRIBED BY LAW, OR BY THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL'S ORDERS. As the survey proceeded, new diagrams were from time to time made, all of that legal size, and the names of parties engaging lots transferred from the one to the other. The diagram to which Mr. Smith alludes, the latest, could only be regarded as a minute of the lots engaged. It is an

old remark, that fools and children should never see unfinished work; and Mr. Smith's observations on this subject verify the proverb. The map having been blotted, was owing to its being necessarily laid on the counter for the inspection of every one; and the hands of some were not of the cleanest. As to 'imaginary names,' the Directors cannot but feel that I might call on the Court for a disavowal of believing that I could be guilty of such a shallow and useless trick. The names, I presume, to which Mr. Smith refers, must be those of parties who had engaged lots, but who have not yet fulfilled their engagements. He was present when a number of such were declared to have forfeited their right to the lots, and when their engagements were cancelled; and he was aware that the time is near when a number more shall probably share the same fate. The Court was early informed that this would, in all likelihood, come to pass. The first hundred of those who engaged town-lots had the privilege of drawing 25, or 50, or 100 acres farm-lots, so soon as their houses were erected. A number of these have of course lost the right, and there are parties of the second hundred in the same state. Besides these, there were two-and-twenty persons who engaged lots in what is called the Trafalgar Block, to be taken up, if they could sell their improved farms in the township of Trafalgar within twelve months: some of these have changed their mind, and others have asked indulgence.

"But there was another cause which occasioned constant alterations in the diagram, (or map, as Mr. Smith calls it,) and changes in the landmarks,—the subdividing of lots to suit the circumstances of settlers. It has been with me a principle to give to such settlers as we have, no more land than they could within the time limited (five years) be expected to pay for," &c.—"But I fully confess I can neither

appreciate the value of Mr. Smith's science in the diagram, nor discern in what way it was in consonance to his instructions. As to his new register, the form is not found to be applicable to the purpose. Moreover, all he has done will soon require to be done again; the extent of the lots will still continue to be changed to suit purchasers; and, by use, Mr. Smith's fine diagram will soon become as dirty and blotted as the one which so affected his professional taste for clean paper."—This has already taken place: his diagram, with the one of which he complained, is at the Company's office, with a report from one of the surveyors, stating that Mr. Smith's alterations having been made without reference to the land-marks, a considerable portion of the survey will require to be revised.

Mr. Galt never once entertained the idea that Mr. Smith had come to Canada "in order to have him superseded."—A few persons slightly acquainted with Mr. Smith have supposed he was actuated by some such sinister intention; nor are there wanting circumstances which might be so construed as to show a design on his part to embroil Mr. Galt with the Directors.—Mr. G., however, knew very well that Mr. Smith never would be appointed to the superintendency of the Company's affairs. The fact is, that he had received reason from Mr. Smith himself to expect he was to be superseded by Mr. M'Gillivray. In a letter, dated the 22d March, 1827, speaking of that gentleman's appointment to the management at home, he says:—"It is proposed that he shall reside in the house, and take the whole charge until you return, when he is to go out and take charge in your place." And the impression of this was confirmed by an expression of Mr. M'Gillivray's, about being in Canada in the course of two years, but which, it seems, had relation to other matters. Mr. G., in accepting the superintendency,

adverted to this circumstance, conceiving that there was a degree of injustice in laying all the fatigue of the first operations on him, merely to make an easier berth for another.

"It is true, he had previously sent most voluminous lists, under the titles of 'Lists of Offers received for Land,' 'List of Offers for Land accepted,' and 'List of Offers accepted and settled for;' but these were so confused, that there was no understanding them; and he himself confounded the List of Offers accepted with the List of Offers settled for, and, in consequence, wrote to the Directors, in April, 1828, that he had sold and settled for 70,000 acres; whereas the fact was, that, at that period, little more than 30,000 had been settled for. Thus betraying a complete ignorance of *his own incomparable system*, the effect of which was to mislead the Directors, and, through them, the Proprietors, to whom the statement was communicated in June, 1828, and was believed by both parties until my return; when I showed, by a regular account I had taken in Canada, (and which has been corroborated since,) that up to the 1st October, 1828, only 40,000 acres altogether of Crown reserves, independent of Guelph, which had been sold and settled for."

The titles of the lists, and each list being made from separate and distinct books, shows that there could not possibly have been any confusion with respect to them; nor do they show any ignorance on the part of Mr. Galt, or even irregular working in "his *incomparable system.*" The fact of the case is this: settlers desirous of securing for themselves or their friends particular lots, apply for them, and if their offers come within the table of prices, they are of course accepted. But after receiving the acceptance, such applicants are not often in any haste to settle; besides many of them are squatters, who never think of settling at all, but take this mode of securing a preference under an apprehension of ejectment. It was not until experience had explained this, that the fallacy was discovered of supposing the acceptance of an offer was a determined sale. No doubt the sale was valid in law; but what use would it have served

to go to law with pauper emigrants, or persons in the needy circumstances of new settlers in general? It was latterly, but before Mr. Smith came to Canada, a rule of Mr. Galt's system, to hold unsettled acceptances open in two ways,—first, till another person offered the same or a better price than the offer which had been accepted, when notice was given to the first party, that unless he came forward and completed the sale, the lot would be disposed of: second, from time to time the unfulfilled acceptances were examined, when notice was sent to the parties, that if a settlement did not take place within a specified period, the acceptance would be cancelled. Besides, it was a rule also, in all cases, to allow one month for parties, whose offers had been accepted, to fulfil their contract. Mr. Smith, on "absconding" from Canada, was as ignorant of the routine of the Company's business as on the day on which he unfortunately left London.

"Almost from his arrival in Canada a correspondence had taken place betwixt the Directors and him in regard to the situation of the Company's principal office. At first he was strongly in favour of York; so much so, that he pressed the Directors to allow him to lay out 4000*l.* upon building a grand house there, a plan of which he sent home. In reply, he was informed, that although the Court were fully convinced that York was the proper place for the principal office of the Company, yet they thought it better to delay laying out money in building there until they had further reports on the subject, but that he might rent a house. A short time after this, he got into disputes with some of the authorities at York; and he then discovered that York was the very worst place in the whole province for the Company's principal office; and, as he had begun operations at Guelph, and had taken it into his head that it might be made, not merely a village or town, but a grand city, that might vie with York, and become, some time or other, the seat of government, he determined that the Company's office should be there, and there alone, as having one at York at all would only be a useless expense. He laboured very hard to convince the Directors of this, but could not succeed: rather unfortunately,

however, they had given him a sort of interim liberty to have the office where he pleased, until it should be finally fixed. The delay in sending me out gave him an opportunity of taking advantage of this permission, and when I arrived there, I found he had, at a considerable expense, removed to Guelph all the books, papers, and the clerks, except one, who was left at York. Before I went out, I had adopted the opinion that York was the proper place for the Company's office, and every thing I saw there convinced me of the correctness of that opinion. Indeed, I never met with any one at all acquainted with the subject who thought otherwise, except the Superintendent himself, and his friend the Warden of the Forest. On this point, therefore, we were likely to disagree; but on my first arrival a compromise was made betwixt us, that if he thought proper to live at Guelph he might, but that I should reside and conduct the business at York. Knowing the feeling of the Court, and, therefore, trusting to its ultimate decision in favour of York, I took a house there, and was at some expense in fitting it up and furnishing it, to all which he was privy. I only got into this house on the 1st of November, and, two days afterwards, he wrote me a letter, stating, 'that he found he had done wrong in giving his consent to my residing at York, and, therefore, now recalled it; and as my agreement bore that I was to reside where the principal office of the Company was, and as he had fixed the principal office at Guelph, he therefore insisted that I should repair there, and remain at all events until the final determination of the Directors was received.'"

Mr. Smith has stated, with what truth has been shown, that Mr. Galt had not communicated to the Court of Directors, or obtained their sanction to, the plan of business he had adopted. The despatch of the 26th December, 1826, exposes that untruth. Mr. G. in the same despatch, states, in the eighth clause relative to his plan, thus:—"Eighth, An office and a residence for the chief Commissioner, together with a tavern fitted up with proper apartments for the other officers and clerks, and to accommodate applicants and purchasers, are absolutely indispensable, and the construction of them ought to be immediately authorized. The office should be fire-proof, and the house for the Commissioner respectable. The buildings of the Pulteney estate for

these purposes, and those of the Holland Company at Batavia, furnish satisfactory models, and do not perhaps admit of much improvement either in the scale or in the arrangements."

"NINTH. According to the best advice which I have been able to obtain, and according, also, to my own opinion, the Company's office should be somewhere in the district of Gore, and conveniently situated with reference to the blocks, and to the territory in the London and Western districts. There is a declared wish here (York) that the office should be in York; but I do not clearly discover any other reason for the preference recommended, than a desire to augment the metropolitan pretensions of the place."

These two clauses are demonstrative of the uncandid and untrue assertions of Mr. Smith.—The date of 26th of December is exactly eight days AFTER the alleged "disputes with some of the authorities at York." It is to be regretted that allusion was made to these disputes; for they did not concern the Company. But the bad taste of that allusion is not greater than the bad feeling, which ascribes to Mr. Galt the sacrifice of an important public trust to private spleen. Mr. Smith, however, is so far a Christian, that he judges of others by himself. These clauses demonstrate, also, from the very terms in which they are expressed, that there was some understanding between the Directors and Mr. Galt, before he left London, that the office was to be in some central situation on the Company's land, and in the wilderness; else why so explicit a statement with respect to a tavern, which would not have been wanted at York. Besides this, on the 1st of January, 1827, Mr. Galt, in a private letter to Mr. Hullett, says, "Last night the Chief Justice intimated to me that he was desirous of disposing of his house. It would do very well as a residence for the agent; but an office would still be wanted. What I have

stated in my official letter as to this point ought to be seriously considered; nevertheless, I shall see what value the Chief Justice really puts upon his house. At present he mentions 4000*l.* sterling, in which the value of two acres of ground is included. My own opinion is, that for something like that sum, both an office and a house, the office fireproof, may be erected. I enclose, however, his note, which may, in the mean time, be laid before the Directors."

On the same day, (1st of January, 1827,) Mr. Galt wrote to the Directors, with the plan of which Mr. Smith speaks: "I have at last," says he, "succeeded in moderating the ideas of the architect to a plan which, I conceive, will suit all the purposes of the Company. I send, enclosed, a sketch of the design, but an estimate will take some time to prepare. The Court will probably see the expediency of coming to some resolution on the subject, as to the amount which should be expended."

All this was previous to Guelph being thought of; and it is proper to state, that Mr. Galt was at no time of opinion that Guelph was the fittest place for the central office. It is, however, of no consequence now what his opinion was or is. As to the idea of a grand city,—the epithet city originated in jocularity with another party,—it was no more than a jest, on which it would be idle to waste a word; but when Mr. Smith says he had no predetermined opinions, he forgets that on this point, one of the most important to the rightly conducting of the Company's business, he has declared, "Before I went out, I had adopted the opinion, that York was the proper place for the Company's office."

How far Mr. Galt did Mr. Smith any wrong as to this matter, the proprietors are enabled to judge by the following letters.

"PRIVATE" note to Mr. Smith, with the subjoined official;—

" York, 3d Nov. 1828.

" DEAR SMITH,

" I send you an official, to which you will give the best answer you can. In the mean time, I beg your serious attention to your instructions. You are proceeding too fast in a course, to which the epithet of disregard might be applied. Some of them are certainly not framed with sufficient reference to the circumstances in which we are placed; but there is an absoluteness in the tone that claims the most grave attention.

" The 3d article, in which I am declared equally responsible with yourself for the application of money, is one that you cannot too soon refer to; for you have not yet furnished me with any account, by which I can know in what has been done the extent of my responsibility. This has, no doubt, been owing to the hurry you have been in, preparing the accounts; but still some attention should have been paid to it. I am no drill-sergeant; but there is a method and subordination required in all public business, which must be observed: and I am sure, unless our business is more systematically conducted, it can never work agreeably, and we shall fall into misunderstandings prejudicial to our friendship and trust.

" Yours truly,

" J. G."

Official letter sent with the foregoing:—

" SIR,

" After the best attention I have been able to give to your agreement and instructions, I cannot discover in either that you are authorised to form a separate establishment; but, on the contrary, that your doing so will be in direct opposition to the strict injunctions of the Court to avoid expense.

" Your agreement simply states, that you are to reside

permanently at such place in Upper Canada as shall be selected for the principal office of the Company, unless the Court of Directors direct the contrary. It is true that, by the 8th article of your instructions, it is stated, that the prevailing opinion of the Court was, that the principal office should be in York ; but at the same time it is also said, that the matter has been left to my direction for the present, and you are only instructed to confer with me, and to report to the Court your opinion of the permanent location of the principal office, with your reasons for recommending the same.

" When you spoke to me on the subject, you will recollect how strongly I expressed my conviction of the inconvenience of fixing the principal office at York, so far (being little, if any, less than eighty miles) from the borders of the scene of our chief operations. Considering, however, that both the Pulteney and Holland managers have found it expedient to divide their business among several offices, it did not then strike me, as it has since done, that much incongruity would result from your assuming the management of a secondary office ; although my objection to the location of any office at York must, so long as I can persuade myself that I understand any thing of the interests of the Company, remain unaltered.

" This I state plainly and frankly as the reason for my now receding from any assent which I may have given to your desire to establish yourself here : I acknowledge my error in giving such assent, even although at the time I believed the subject to be contingent on the approbation of the Directors ; and I do confess that I had not then sufficiently reflected on the inconvenience which I see daily arising from the attempt to conduct the cashier and accountant's business at a distance of two days' journey from the nearest scene of expenditure. Nor can I devise any plan by which

the 2d clause of the 2d article of your instructions can be carried into effect, if you are not resident where the vouchers are to be taken. In a word, by establishing yourself elsewhere than on the spot, the express purpose for which you were appointed must be defeated.

" If it is the will and pleasure of the Court that an office shall be at York, it is very obvious it ought not to be yours; and therefore, until we shall have received definite orders on the subject, I must require, according to your agreement and instructions, that your residence be at Guelph, whither the principal office was removed before your arrival in this country.

" I have further to require, that you will, with all convenient expedition, frame a report on the location of the principal office, with the reasons of your opinion, that, in obedience to the direct command of the Court, it may be sent home; and I shall be most happy to concur in your reasons if I can.

" In the mean time, no appointment of clerks* which you may make, can, without the special orders of the Court, be sanctioned.

" I have, &c.

" J. G."

" On the 28th January, the General Meeting of Proprietors was held, when a report was read, stating that my mission to Canada had

* He had BROUGHT OUT A GENTLEMAN FROM ENGLAND WITH HIM, whom he placed in his office at York, at a salary of 200*l.* per annum, without consulting the Superintendent. He had the hardihood, however, to state to Mr. G., in the letter acquainting him of his intended " FLIGHT " from the province, dated 6th Nov. 1828, thus, " *I take leave to remind you I had your perfect concurrence in employing Mr. Pringle;* INDEED, YOU YOURSELF FIRST SUGGESTED IT TO ME." To Mr. Pringle, Mr. G. had no personal objection; but the fact of Mr. S. having brought him from England, shows how much that person can hazard in assertion, when he ventures to say, that it was at Mr. G.'s suggestion he took him into the Company's service.

failed, in consequence of disputes with Mr. Galt, and that I had returned to London, and, therefore, no account of their affairs in that country could be given; that Mr. Galt had been recalled, and another gentleman appointed to go out to take charge, and that it was not their intention to send me back immediately; but nothing was said of my being positively dismissed."

It must be obvious to the Proprietors, that in exposing the misrepresentations respecting Mr. Galt in Mr. Smith's "Address," all allusion to any difference between him and the Directors is studiously avoided; but this particular statement obliges Mr. Galt to make a slight deviation from the rule he had laid down.—The conduct of Mr. Smith had become so intolerable, that Mr. Galt had resolved to return to England, just at the time when Mr. Smith "ABSCONDED" from Canada; and accordingly, before he was aware of Mr. Smith's rash step, he, on the 9th November, wrote to the Directors, that he found it would be necessary to see them personally. What effect this intimation had on the Court, Mr. Galt never heard; but it should have rendered a recall unnecessary. The letter is in the Appendix.

It is further necessary here to remark, that, independently of any question between the Superintendent and the Cashier, the finances of the Company, owing to a reluctance or inability on the part of some of the principal shareholders to pay up the calls for capital, placed the Directors in a position which precluded them from continuing the salary and allowances of Mr. Galt; and as Mr. G. had declined the lower terms, which were first proposed to him for the superintendency, the Directors may have considered it useless to offer him less than he had. Considering, indeed, that it was doubtful if the Company would go on at all, they were not in circumstances to act otherwise. But Mr. Galt is precluded from offering any further observation on this proceeding; for the Directors have assigned to him no reason

for the recall *, nor were they under any obligation to do so, as Mr. Galt held the superintendency only during the pleasure of the court.

"Some time previous to the payment in December last becoming due, directions were sent out that the funds for it were to be raised by the Superintendent drawing upon the agents of the East India Company at Montreal, who were to reimburse themselves by drawing upon the Company in London in favour of the East India Company. This was at best rather a strange round-about mode of proceeding, and in which, at least one, if not two commissions, would have been incurred. Neither the East India Company, however, nor their agents, would have any thing to do with the transaction. When the account of this reached the Upper Province, which was only a few days before the payment became due, the Superintendent, in his usual hasty manner, immediately sent off the Warden of the Forests post to the Lower Province to raise the money by any means; and he, to mend the matter, told every body, that unless the money was raised, the charter of the Company would be forfeited. This naturally did not enhance the credit of the Company in that quarter, and the Warden failed in his mission. These difficulties were, however, removed by the Receiver-General on the day of payment, who then coolly desired the Superintendent to draw a bill on London for the amount in his favour, and he would pass it, which was done."

This misrepresentation is only noticed here in justice to the Receiver-General of Upper Canada. Mr. Smith is a person very little acquainted practically with general business, though he may be with accounts; but even that, he has rendered doubtful. He literally knows nothing of the responsibilities of public officers; and this injurious statement respecting the Receiver-General, he seems to have intended as a compliment to that gentleman. He seems to

* I complain, that after my intimated return I was recalled, and an ignominious character given to the proceedings, as they affected me, which I do think was a work of supererogation. To the originator of the Company, a little more civility might have been shewn.

have forgotten that the Directors had *de facto* interdicted the credit of the Superintendent and the Cashier with the Bank of Upper Canada; and to suppose Mr. Dunn would, in such circumstances, take the Superintendent's bill for the payment due to government, is to ascribe to him a degree of simplicity that could only have entered into a very weak head. The fact is, that a good deal of negotiation took place about this affair, in which the Lieutenant-Governor was probably confidentially consulted, for the payment of the civil list was contingent on receiving the payment from the Company; and before Mr. Galt could induce the Receiver-General to take his bills on the Company, he was obliged to pledge with him Government securities equal to the amount, the exchange and re-exchange on the bills. It was not so cool a transaction as the hot gentleman supposes.

"Every person who wished to become a purchaser had to address a letter to him, (the Superintendent,) giving the description of the lot, the price he proposed to give for it, and the times of payment. If the offer was accepted, an answer was given, stating so, and directing the first instalment to be paid into the Bank of Upper Canada, or at the Company's office, within a month, else the offer would be void, and the land given to any other person who offered for it,—and, when the instalment was paid, the purchaser received a letter of license to take possession of the lot."

While Mr. Smith was believed to have been employed in executing his instructions, Mr. Galt, to save time, when that individual would have leisure to examine the details of the business, drew an outline of the routine of the office, with the forms annexed, to enable him to understand the system. But the heats and the hurries which preceded the "FLIGHT" of the unhappy man, prevented him from ever looking at it. This view of the routine is in the Appendix, but it has not been deemed necessary to publish the forms referred to.

"This plan might suit the agents of the Pulteney Estate very well, because that estate lay altogether in one compact lot, on which the agents resided, and were, consequently, always at hand, to show intended purchasers the lands, and talk to them about the price; and the letter was only filled up as a matter of form, after these points were discussed. It might also have suited at Guelph, or on the Huron Tract, when it came to be settled. But it was very different in regard to the Crown Reserves, which are scattered all over the province; and, to have made it suit them, would have required the appointment of local agents in every district, in order to show the lands to applicants, explain the terms to them, and then have the letter filled up and sent to head quarters. No such thing was, however, done: parties wishing to purchase lands in the most distant part of the province were expected to write to the Superintendent, wherever he had fixed the office, first at York and then at Guelph, without having any person to show the lands or state what the terms might be. The generality of the applicants Scotch or Irish emigrants of the lowest order, many of them unable to read or write; and yet these men were expected to sit down and write a letter to a person, one, two, or three hundred miles distant, to offer to purchase lands, without knowing exactly whether these lands were at his disposal, (many of the applications were for lands not the Company's,) and to name a price without knowing what was expected; a thing perfectly repugnant to the practice and feelings of both these nations."

If any doubt could exist of the total ignorance of Mr. Smith as to the plan and business of the Company, this extract would sufficiently settle the question. The plan adopted with respect to the reserves was NOT applicable to the Pulteney estate; but the plan adopted for Guelph and the Huron tract, as explained in the document in the Appendix, relative to the routine, was nearly similar to the system of the Pulteney estate and of the Holland Company. It is not the custom, nor is it necessary, to have persons to show the reserves; for intending purchasers either inspect them themselves, or have their friends on the spot, who do so. As to local agents to show the land in every district, the idea is

absurd in the greatest degree; each district of the province is as extensive as any half dozen counties of England. But the whole of Mr. Smith's misrepresentation is the rave of actual insanity, and cannot be answered. The fact of the practice is the only answer which can be given.

A general price for each township was determined as accurately as possible by special enquiries, and from the results three classes of townships were formed, and a table of prices made out for them accordingly. In all the newspapers in the province the form in which applications for lots were to be made was published for several consecutive months. The names of the local agents (Mr. Smith says there were none) were also published. These agents were appointed at the places where emigrants were likely to seek for information, viz. :—at Prescot, John M'Pherson and Co.; at Bytown, Mr. M'Taggart, jun.; at Kingston, Mr. Harpur; at Cobourg and Douro, Mr. D. Stuart; at York, the Company's Office; at Dundas, Mr. Kirby; at Niagara, Mr. M'Dougal, &c. The integrity of Mr. Smith in this matter is illustrated by the fact that he knew all this, and was aware also of the Superintendent's intention to appoint additional agents for collecting. The distance to which a letter has to go, is not the difficulty to be overcome with the class of persons whom he describes, it is the writing of it: and to lessen *that*, the forms of application were published. Moreover, both the crown and the clergy reserves are so perfectly well known throughout the province, that the Superintendent does not believe that even so few as half a dozen applications were made to him for lands not either crown or clergy reserves. It is impossible to conceive how the sale of the reserves can be managed otherwise than by correspondence in a country as extensive as England; but it is an idle use of time to answer a statement which is untrue in

its assertions, and formed upon an ignorant conception both of facts and circumstances.

"What made this worse was, that the Superintendent established it as a fixed rule, that not only the letter of licence, but the letter of acceptance, should be signed by himself; and, as he was frequently from head-quarters, those letters of acceptance often lay for weeks, and sometimes for months, waiting his signature. In the mean time the parties got tired, and, despairing of any reply, went and bought lands elsewhere. They were induced the more to this by the situation of the post-offices in that country; these are yet few and far between; and, probably, the applicant resided ten, fifteen, or twenty miles from one, to which he had to scramble through an almost impassable cross-road to put in his letter, and to go again, or send, when he expected an answer; and this he might repeat once, and then give the matter up. I am convinced if the post-offices in the province were searched, a number of these letters of acceptance would be found still lying in them."

This is of a piece with the foregoing extract. It was not the case that the letter of acceptance should be signed by the Superintendent. Had Mr. Smith looked into the book for acceptances, he would have seen that many scores of letters had been signed by others. The letters of licence were of necessity signed by the Superintendent, because he was responsible for the payments received on account, and the rule was to produce the proof of payment at the time. But the proper answer to give to these farragos of imagination is to quote, with respect to this passage in particular, the explanation sent to the Directors, when the charge was first invented, which was after Mr. Smith "RAN AWAY." It bears the date of 8th December, 1828, and is as follows:—

"What he imputes as negligence, is a necessary result of the working of the system. Thus, when a purchaser remits his first instalment, the notes are THEN made out, and sent to him by post for signature. The sales, in the mean time, are noted in the memorandum book of sales; but the letter

of licence to occupy the land is not issued until the notes are returned, and so it happens, between the sending out of the notes and their return to the office, many weeks often elapse, and intermediate sales are in the mean time completed. But in no case but one, and that under very peculiar circumstances, has a letter of licence been issued without the notes having been received; and had Mr. Smith compared the notes with the letter of licences book, he would have discovered this."

These contradictions of the grossest misrepresentations ever employed to deceive any public body have already extended too far. It will be seen that Mr. Galt has not written one line but in self-defence:—had it suited his taste or his habits, he has ample materials to act on the offensive,—but it is not worth while.

APPENDIX TO THE FOREGOING.

No. 1.

A View of the Expenditure during the Mission and first year's Superintendency of Mr. GALT, showing the several Purposes to which the Expenditure has been applied, with Explanations attached.

First Mission.—The object of the Mission was to procure information, and to ascertain, by the practice of the American Land Offices, what should be the system of management in Canada for the affairs of the Company.

Eight months were allowed for this object, but it was soon discovered that the period was by far too short. The allowance for the eight months was to be similar to what had been granted to each of the Commissioners by whom the average was determined. Although the objects were much more extensive and laborious than those of the Commissioners' enquiry, it will be seen, by comparison, that the cost has been considerably less, in proportion to the time.

	Currency. £	*s.*	*d.*
Outfit, being the same as a Commissioner . . .	111	2	2
Salary, at 1000*l.*, for eight months, is for twelve (extended to twelve months by order of the Court). . .	1666	13	4
Travelling and household expenses, &c. . . .	881	5	3
Sundry accounts, incurred during the Mission, but which were not paid till after J. G. had been appointed Superintendent	108	1	7
	2767	2	4

As, during the course of the Mission, J. G. was authorised to accept offers, &c., the regular business of the Company became added to the enquiries of the Mission; and it was, in consequence, necessary to establish an office. All connected with this establishment was, however, temporary; but the expense was much less than if the site of the office had been determined, and preparations made for regularly and permanently conducting the business, in the manner practised in the American land offices.

	Currency. £	s.	d.
Official furniture for the first twelve months	67	0	7½
Official expenses	93	6	11½
Printing advertisements, and stationery	82	4	10
Postages	39	7	6½
Salaries to clerks, porter, &c.	309	10	0
	£591	10	0

No salary is chargeable against the Company for J. G. The sum of 591*l.* 10*s.* was the actual disbursements within the first twelve months, during which the clerks were at weekly salaries. But besides what had been paid as above, the sum of 23*l.* 15*s.* was due to them; making, in all, 615*l.* 5*s.* for the first year's official expenses in the Superintendent's department.

Warden's Salary.

The allowance to Mr. Dunlop, in lieu of travelling expenses, was determined by Colonel Douglas, Colonel Foster, Captain Fitzgerald, and Captain Dickson, and the amount paid to him on account, from the period of his arrival in Upper Canada to the 1st of October, 1827 176 2 2

Contributions to Roads.

By the 30th article of the first contract with his Majesty's Government, it was determined what should be the commutation for settlement duties, and the application was left in the discretion of the Company's agent. The Superintendent, therefore, felt himself authorised by the obligations of the contract, which were, in fact, part of his instructions, to make and promies certain con-

	Currency. £	s.	d.
tributions to the repairing and opening of roads; and accordingly contributed, in the course of the first year, to this purpose	13	13	6

Inspections and Surveys.

Before it could have been prudent to accept any of the offers for the Crown reserves, it was necessary that some authentic information should be obtained of their value in the respective townships. Moreover, it was well known that, in the eastern parts of the province, many of the Crown reserves had been granted by Government, aud that they had been culled. It was indeed believed, that in many townships only the refuse remained. An inspection, therefore, of the different districts became imperative. For some time Mr. Dunlop directed his attention to this business, but it was soon discovered that he could not complete enquiries so extensive within the probable period allowed for the mission of J. G. Accordingly, when it was determined that Mr. Dunlop should make arrangements for the examination of the Huron Tract, three surveyors were employed to inspect severally different parts of the country. Thus, for the Eastern, Ottawa, and Johnston districts, there was paid to account . . . 150 0 0

For the Newcastle and Midland districts . . .	56	0	3
For the Vaughan township and part of Home district .	35	0	0
For the special inspection of Block in Vaughan, for village site	1	5	0
For the Guelph Block, district of Gore . . .	13	15	0
	256	0	3

The inspection of these districts by the surveyors was not completed within the first twelvemonths. The inspection of the Home and Gore districts was undertaken by J. G. in consequence simply of the necessity which he felt of making himself acquainted with the state of the back townships, in reference to a road projected by the inhabitants from Guelph to York. Thus it happened, that, save for the Guelph Block,

no charge is made for the inspection of the Home and Gore districts. The London and Western districts have not yet been inspected, because, until very recently, few enquiries were made for land in them. These inspections constitute a considerable item in the Company's charges; but when once completed, the charge will not return; and, on this account, the outlay should not be considered as falling within the expense of management.

Huron Expedition.

	Currency. £	s.	d.
The accounts, independently of J. G.'s expenses from York, round by Lake Simcoe, to Lake Huron, and thence to Detroit, for the Huron expedition, amount to	713	11	11½

This is an expense which also will not return; and some of the provisions and other articles which remained after the examination of the tract was completed, have served in the recent operations at Goderich.

Guelph.

The disbursements for Guelph, within the first year, were	£4691	16	1

For the purposes of the settlement, the sum of 4000*l.* was allowed, so that the excess was only 691*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.**; a sum, when it is considered that the whole operations were experimental, ought not to excite any degree of surprise. Considering all things, had the excess been thrice the amount of what it was, it would have involved no great degree of blame or of error; but the voluntary expenditure in the first year at Guelph on behalf of the Company was really greatly under what was allowed, for, in the course of the year, the Company, under the 30th Article of their agreement, had incurred a forfeiture in commutation of settlement duties to the amount of 2077*l.* 5*s.*†; so that if the 4000*l.* had been all expended at Guelph, the commutation would still have been required to be applied, either there or elsewhere.

But from the commencement of his business, J. G. determined that

* Mr. Smith says it was four times four thousand pounds.

† J. G.'s letter K., 31st January, 1829.

his outlays for improvements should be in some measure regulated by the probable amount of the commutation, and thus it happens, that although there is an excess of 691*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* over the sum allowed by the Directors; yet if the amount of the commutation is deducted from the sum expended, it will be admitted, that, instead of excess, the voluntary cost in the first year was really 261*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* short of the expense anticipated previous to the commencement of the settlement. But as this view of the subject has relation to the prudence with which the outlay has been made, it would be irrelevant to discuss that matter here, further than by observing that J. G. is of opinion the application of the money to one object has produced a better effect than if it had been scattered among many; and in this opinion he is supported by the most competent judges, particularly by Mr. Fellows.

The summary of the first year's expenditure for the mission and superintendency of J. G. stands thus:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Mission	2,767	2	4
Official Expenses	591	10	0
Warden's Allowance	176	2	2
Contributions to Roads	13	13	6
Inspections and Surveys	256	0	3
Huron Expedition	713	11	11½
Guelph Settlement	4,691	16	1
Miscellaneous expenses, which will not return, but which it is probable will in subsequent years be met with other incidents	293	18	6
	9,503	4	9½
Deduct salary in London £1,666 3 3			
Accounts paid in second year 103 1 7			
	1,774	4	10
Currency	£7,733	19	11½

Accounted for by John Galt, in his account of charge and discharge, from 1st October, 1826, to 1st October, 1827.

N. B.—From the first formation of the Company, it was contemplated the expense of management and improvements would be equal to the payments to be made to Government.

The payment to Government, in the first year, was 20,000*l.* sterling. The expenditure, including heavy preliminary expense, which will not return, does not amount to the half of that sum. Even supposing the expenses of the establishment in London to have been 3,000*l.*, there will still be a large sum between the amount actually expended and that which was contemplated as necessary to be laid out.

No. 2.

SECOND YEAR, FROM 1st OCTOBER, 1827, TO 13th AUGUST, 1828.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Official Expenses.						
From 1st Oct., 1827, to 1st April, 1828,	67	14	5			
to 1st July,	13	12	6			
to 13th August,	50	6	3			
				131	13	2
Office Furniture.						
From 1st April, 1828, to 1st July				71	16	9
Printing, Advertisements, and Stationery.						
to 1st April, 1828,	115	11	4			
to 1st July,	70	5	3			
to 13th August,	25	2	8			
				210	19	3
Postages.						
to 1st April, 1828,	71	14	3			
to 1st July,	57	9	8			
to 13th August,	67	0	5			
				196	4	4
Salaries and occasional Assistance.						
to 1st April, 1828,	573	14	4			
to 1st July,	373	4	10			
to 13th August,	285	8	0			
				1,232	7	2
John Galt's salary, payable in London, for twelve months	1,111	2	2			
Allowance for house, and travelling expenses	500	0	0			
				1,611	2	2
Carried forward				£3,454	2	10

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	3454	2	10
Contributions to Roads.			
to 1st April, 1828 . . .	75	2	3
under the 30th Article of the first contract.			
Inspections and Surveys.			
to 1st April, 1828, 323 6 5			
to 1st July, 47 10 0			
to 13th August, 116 13 3			
	487	9	8
	£4016	14	9

N. B.—By an arrangement made by J. G. with the Provincial Government, the Company is to be allowed 6*l.* per thousand acres for surveys; so that, although the Company must, in the first instance, advance the expense of surveys, yet, in the end, as Government will be charged at the rate above mentioned, there will be a considerable deduction made from that head of charge. It is, however, here stated as the account stands at present :—

Miscellaneous Purposes.

				£.	s.	d.
Donation to the Emigrant Society at Quebec	100	0	0			
Mr. Chewitt, for Copyright of Map of Upper Canada	200	0	0			
				300	0	0
Incidents to 1st April, including travelling expenses of three Clerks, and public sale at Cornwall	171	1	3			
1st July	38	19	4			
13th August	5	15	1			
				£215	15	8

Huron Tract.

Before entering on the payments for this head of Expenditure, as they stand in the books of the office, it may be as well to exhibit the

account of the whole transactions concerning the tract, as if all the payments had been made.

		£	s.	d.
Total cost for labour on roads, clearing the site of Goderich, and all expenses connected with the operations in the tract		4,207	1	8
Amount to be deducted from the 45,000*l.* allowed from the purchase-money, the accounts of which were submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor, in Council, before John Galt left Canada; and although he had not received the official answer, it was understood that the expenditure was allowed . . .	1,968 10 5			
Surveys to be charged against the allowance, at the rate of 6*l.* per thousand acres	554 15 3			
		2523	5	8
		1683	16	0
N.B.—The Directors allowed 3000*l.* to be laid out in improvements, but only 1683*l.* 16*s.* has been expended on behalf of the Company, leaving unappropriated . .		1316	4	0
		£3000	0	0

By the system adopted by John Galt, for the settlement of the Huron Tract, 1905*l.* 5*s.* was retained out of the wages of the labourers, to account of land purchased by them from the Company. None of the land was sold to them at less than 7*s.* 6*d.* per acre; a great proportion of it at 10*s.*, and even higher. The account, therefore, stands thus: 10,887 acres, at 7*s.* 6*d.*, the lowest price, amounts to		4802	13	4
The cost of which to the Company, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per acre .		1905	5	0
		£2897	8	4

Profit on the operation, to be paid in five yearly instalments by the settlers, with interest at 6 per cent.

The payments on this account, however, within the period contemplated in this statement of the second year's transactions, stand thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Huron Tract, disbursements from 1st Oct. 1827 . .	8	10	8
1st April . . .	39	2	6
1st July . . .	133	17	4
	181	10	6
Which, being deducted from the outlay	4207	1	8
	181	10	6
Leaves to be settled for, in cash payments, and in wages retained for land	£4025	11	2

Towards the reduction of this sum, many accounts were settled by Mr. Smith, during the time he acted as cashier, namely, from 13th Aug. to 8th Nov. 1829; and as they will be accounted for by him, it is unnecessary to advert to them here.

Guelph.

The payments on account of the Guelph Settlement, comprehend the outlay for improvements, such as roads and bridges, fencing of cleared land, completion of houses, and advances to settlers, between

	£	s.	d.
1st Oct. 1827 to 1st April, 1828 . . .	3420	3	8
1st April, 1828, to 1st July, 1828 . . .	1627	15	8
1st July, to Mr. Smith's departure to England .	733	14	7
	£5781	13	11

Some of the houses at Guelph have been sold at first cost, with interest *.

The advances made to settlers are to be repaid. These advances consist of contributions to dwelling-houses, assistance given in provisions during illness and the suspension of the Company's works.

* I understand they have been all sold.

SUMMARY OF THE SECOND YEAR'S EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Official expenses	131	13	2
Office furniture	71	16	9
Printing, stationery, &c.	210	19	3
Postages	196	4	4
Salaries, and occasional assistance	1232	7	2
Superintendent's salary and allowance	1611	2	2
Contributions to roads	75	2	3
Inspections and surveys	487	9	8
Miscellaneous expenses	560	15	8
Huron tract	181	10	6
Guelph	5781	13	11
	10,540	14	10
Deduct, payable in London	1,611	2	2
	£8,929	12	8

Accounted for in John Galt's accounts, from 1st October, 1827, to 13th August, 1828, Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

No. 3.

To the GOVERNOR, DEPUTY-GOVERNOR, and DIRECTORS of the CANADA COMPANY.

Nelson, Nov. 9th, 1828.

GENTLEMEN,

I had recently the honour to communicate to the Court my persuasion that the affairs of the Company could not be managed by two offices, in the way proposed by Mr. Smith, without great additional trouble and expense. It was also then mentioned, that I was no less persuaded inconvenience would arise from his holding an independent correspondence with the Directors. I understand he has since sent home the whole or portions of the result of his enquiries, which I have never seen; and I have to add, that, except his first letter, I have not seen any of his communications to the Court.

If he has private instructions to act in this manner, it ought to have been communicated to me that he had private instructions, and then I

should have been able to decide what was the becoming course to take; and if he has not private instructions, I am placed under the painful necessity of saying of an old friend, that I can no longer justify to myself the endurance of the tone and authority he has assumed.

This, with the manifest and growing necessity of averting an increase of misconceptions, as well as to offer and obtain the multifarious explanations which seem to be requisite for the right and systematic management of the Company's interest, has induced me to determine on returning home, in order that a proper understanding may be established, and instructions issued, by which the management may be harmoniously conducted. It will not, I fear, be practicable to be with the Court before the general meeting in December, but it may be adjourned.

I have the honour, &c.

JOHN GALT.

No. 4.

New York, April 23d, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,

As my friend Mr. Galt will embark to-morrow for England, on the concerns of his land-agency in Upper Canada, I have requested him to do me the favour of delivering you this letter, and informing you, that the affairs of your trust-estate under my agency are in a train of increasing prosperity.

Mr. Galt is greatly respected in this country, both for his intelligence, and for the fairness and integrity of his character; and I believe him to be eminently entitled to the entire confidence of the Land Company with which he is connected. Before he commenced his agency operations, I advised him, when on his way to the scene of his agency, to spend a few days at the land-office at Geneva, where our excellent friend, Mr. Fellows, having the immediate charge of the office, would cheerfully give him every information which the details of the office, and Mr. Fellows's long experience of its business, so amply qualified him to communicate. Mr. Galt followed my advice; and, accordingly, he began the discharge of his agency duties with the best directory that could be found, to guide him in the untrodden and difficult path which lay before him.

I have understood that Mr. Galt has followed the course of my agency, as far as circumstances would permit, and that he has laid a solid foundation for future profits. But your familiar acquaintance with the affairs of your trust, leads you to know, that a considerable time elapses before the settler on wild lands can, by the most successful efforts of his industry, render his farm so productive, as to enable him to make payments on account of his purchase-money, and that these payments are apt to come in but slowly and irregularly. The natural consequence is, that the sellers of wild lands have to exercise much patience, before they can realise any returns for their investments, however large they may be; but, in process of time, handsome returns will assuredly be made: witness the handsome returns I am annually making for the proceeds of the trust-estate, and that of Lady Bath's executors.

If, therefore, the Company, who have entrusted their interests to the agency of Mr. Galt, will allow his plans to grow, and ripen, to maturity, I have no doubt they will have abundant cause to be satisfied with his conduct. As the improved state of your country admits of no kind of comparison with the wilderness-state of the country where Mr. Galt's agency-lands are situate, his principals cannot possibly form any just idea of the serious difficulties he has to contend with.

"I have taken the liberty of going into these particulars, for the purpose of putting you in a situation to serve Mr. Galt, in case he should find it necessary to refer any of his friends to you for information. By serving him, you will be sure to serve a most worthy and respectable man, and to confer a personal favour on me.

I remain, &c. &c.

(Signed) Rob. Troup.

Masterton Ure, Esq. M.P., London.

No. 5.

To the Directors of the Canada Company.

Guelph, Jan. 31, 1829.

GENTLEMEN,

In my despatch of the 14th instant, I took the liberty of drawing the attention of the Court to the 30th article of the first contract; and

as the Directors are in possession of the data on which my persuasion is founded, that the Company has incurred a forfeiture under it, equal to the principal item of expenditure at this place, I should not have reverted to the subject again, but I have observed, both in the correspondence of the Court, and in observations which Mr. Smith took upon himself to make, an essential difference, as I think, between the Court and the Superintendent, in principle, in their respective views of that part of the Company's obligation which relates to improvement.

* * * * *

In an early despatch, after my arrival in the country, I both officially, and to some of my friends, in the directory, stated, as one of the results of my visit to the Holland Company's office, that no expenditure should be laid out on the scattered reserves, and that all expenditure for improvements, should be directed to the blocks and tracts. The soundness of this opinion, there has been no reason to doubt; and, in point of economy, as well as of utility and effect, it will readily be admitted to be preferable to what was, at one time, a general notion among those who early took an interest in the formation of the Company; viz., that building houses, and making clearings, for the reception of settlers ON THE RESERVES, would be the way to satisfy the expectations of Government: for it is always to be borne in recollection, that the assurance of the province receiving great improvements from the Company, was one of the chief, if not the chief motive, which induced His Majesty's government to assign so large a portion of the crown property to private management, and to consent to the grant of a charter.

When it was determined that a settlement should be founded on this tract (Guelph), it therefore, agreeably to the rule adopted, became an object with me, as far as I could make it so without appearing particular, to avoid contributing to local improvements in different parts of the country. The Court granted for the settlement 4000*l*. This could have had no reference to any forfeiture, which might be incurred under the article above referred to, for the grant was made before the Company could be said to have come into operation at all.

In proceeding with the settlement, I had constantly in view the amount of that grant; but the extraordinary interest which the activity of the operations excited, led to expenses not anticipated, viz., the building of dwelling-houses, and the opening of roads into the adjacent townships, at the solicitation of their inhabitants, and to facilitate

access to this market. Still, however, at the close of the season, I had only exceeded the sum allowed by 691*l.* 16*s.* 2*d.* I appeal to the candour of every individual member of the Court, whether under the novelty of experiment, the unaccustomed habits of new settlers to the woods, and to employments so greatly different from their former occupations, to say nothing of the notorious fallacy of every estimate, for any purpose whatever, obtained in this country, if this excess is deserving of any very strong animadversion. Besides, the Court will recollect that my office was eighty miles distant; that I could only visit this place occasionally, and that some things were done in my absence, on a more substantial scale, than the temporary nature of the undertaking required. This house, (the Priory*,) for example, considering the purpose for which it was originally intended, was constructed better, and cost more money, than I would have sanctioned, had I been on the spot. But the Court, in its candour, will hesitate to apply even the mitigated epithet of injudicious to the expenditure on the houses, after the fact of the sale of some of them has shown, that, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they were built, and the seeming profusion of expense with which things done in haste always appear, they have covered their first cost with interest. It appears, however, to me, to be supposed, that all the expenditure which has taken place here is sunk; and this is one of the points in which the Superintendent differs, as he conceives, in principle, from the Court. He does not refer, in this difference, to the augmented value of the land, superinduced by the building of the town, but only to the circumstances of the outlay being invested in saleable and productive property.

But the Court will observe, that, in the operations at Guelph, the Superintendent held in view the probable forfeiture that would be required under the aforesaid article, which, as has been already respectfully intimated, he apprehends has been overlooked. It was, no doubt, to be expected that Government would not insist on the strict literal fulfilment of the conditions of that article in the first year: one of which conditions was undoubtedly modified by the second contract, changing the beginning of the year from the 1st of January to the 1st of July; but still the principle was not altered: indeed, that article

* So called, in joke, after Mr. Prior, the overseer of the settlement, when it was full of emigrant families.

contains the chief stipulation made for the improvement of the province.

It may here be remarked, that the principle of forfeiture is very strictly recognised, though in a spirit of great liberality; for the sum forfeited is not allowed to be at the disposal of the Company, *but is committed to the discretion of their agent, to be accounted for by him to the executive government.* It is not, however, for a moment, to be supposed, that the agent would, in this matter, exercise his discretion in opposition to any known opinion of the Court.

By the twenty-first article the Company is bound to take up, &c.

Now, at the Commissioners' valuation, this would be	126,984 acres.
The half of which is	63,492 acres.
The quantity of land sold and settled in the first year, ending November 10, 1827, independent of Guelph, which cannot properly be brought in, was . .	16,779 acres.
leaving	46,713 acres.

or 233 lots; which, at 35 dollars per lot, is a forfeiture of 2,077*l.* 5*s.* to be expended at the discretion of the Company's agent.

In the second year the forfeiture is less; thus, . .	63,492 acres.
For the half of the quantity of land sold and settled of reserves, in the year ending 1st Oct. last, 26,733 acres, taking Guelph at 15,000 acres, is	41,733 acres.
leaving	21,759 acres.

or 108 half lots; which, at 35 dollars, is	£ 945	0	0
Add one year's forfeiture . . .	2077	5	0
In all	£3022	5	0
When the road and bridge account of Guelph was made up, at the recent suspension of all operations, it amounted to only	2286	18	1
leaving unappropriated . . .	£ 735	6	11

greater by 43*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* than the excess incurred by the general operations; but against this is the sum of 63*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* contributions to local subscriptions for the improvement of roads. The only question, therefore, which can arise as to appropriation of the forfeiture is, Has

it been judiciously applied ?—And the determination of that question rests with the provincial government.

But there is another point, quite as essential, on which the Superintendent conceives that he differs in principle from the Court. The Court has always, he thinks, regarded the expenditure at this place with reference to its productive effect on the valuation of the land here; whereas the Superintendent has considered it as an expenditure such as, at the formation of the Company, was intended to be laid out among the reserves generally; and for that reason he thinks it has been much less than Government had cause to expect; and he begs leave to recall to the recollection of the Court, that the expenditure for improvements and management was always calculated at an equal sum to the price of the lands. He refers, on this point, to a statement drawn up by himself in vindication of the Commissioners, and also to an elaborate and ingenious calculation made by Mr. M'Gillivray. In directing all the expenditure to one point, he conceives two objects have been attained: 1st, a saving to the amount of many thousand pounds. Thrice the amount expended at Guelph would have produced no equivalent benefit, either to the Company or the province, had it been laid out in detached portions on the reserves throughout the whole country; and, 2dly, by concentrating the whole expenditure on one point, an example has been given, and an impression produced in favour of the Company, satisfactory to every rational expectation. I contend, however, that, even in the view which I apprehend the Court takes of the operations here, the Company ought to be satisfied with the result. The increased value of the land will do more than indemnify the Company for the whole expenditure, including even the forfeiture: for it can never be considered that the support of pauper settlers falls under the head of improvements, or is to be regarded as such; nor was it so contemplated when the 4000*l.* was granted for the formation of the settlement; and I venture also to maintain, that the whole expenditure in this country hitherto has been much less than ever was contemplated prior to my departure from England. If, however, there does not exist that difference, which I think grounds have been given to suppose, it should follow that the misconception on both sides, as to details, has its origin in my not having been sufficiently explicit as to the motives by which I was actuated: and the only apology I can make for this is, the plain fact of having to this hour my attention distracted and my time occupied with

small cares and anxieties, which, however insignificant individually, are, by their ceaseless craving and importunity, in collective effect of the greatest consequence in the variety of my duties.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

JOHN GALT.

No. 6.

ROUTINE of the OFFICE, as established on the 1st of October, 1827.

1. Persons desirous of purchasing reserves make application according to the form (A.).

2. The offer is entered in the application-book, of which the return (B.) is a transcript of a part.

3. The clerk then ascertains if the lot belongs to the Company. If it do not, it is so marked in the application-book, and the form (C.) sent out, of which no copy is kept. If it do belong to the Company, and the price is too low, it is marked "rejected" in the book, and the form (D.) filled up and sent out. No copy is kept; but if the price and other circumstances suit, then the form (E.) is filled up, and the acceptance entered in the application-book, and in the book of offers accepted, of which (F.) is a transcript of part. The letters of acceptance are copied into a special letter-book.

4. When the applicant has paid his deposit, promissory notes, in the form (G.), for the several instalments, are then filled up; and, being signed, the letter of licence (H.) is prepared. But before it is signed, the registration takes place, and on one of the small diagrams the lot is marked in pink. On the large diagrams the name of the purchaser will be entered on the lot; but, owing to the want of convenience, this has not yet been carried into effect. *It has since been done.*

This closes the routine as to sales.

5. The payments are deposited in the Bank, in "the Company's receipt account," which exhibits the name of each individual, with the amount of the several payments; so that the amount corresponds to and verifies the entries in the sale-book.

6. In the sale-book the sales are entered, with a new series of numbers, in addition to the application number, and the acceptance number, as per form (I.).

7. A summary of the offers accepted is kept in a book, of which the return (K.) is a transcript of part; and from time to time those offers which are not settled for are marked "cancelled" opposite to the respective numbers, but not until due notice has been given, as per form (L.).

8. A similar summary of sales completed is also kept, as per return (M.) These returns refer to the book of applications and to the book of the letters of acceptance.

9. There are other two cheque-books: the one is a ledger, exhibiting the account of each purchaser, of which (N.) is the form; the other is a cheque on this, exhibiting the state of the account of each lot, of which (O.) is the form.

10. The miscellaneous transactions have also been systematised, as far as it has yet been practicable. The form (P.) is addressed to the squatters; the form (Q.) is a circular from the Warden. The object of the latter is to ascertain the progress of improvement,—the best and only security the Company acquires. It will be the regular duty of the Warden to inspect the improvements, and to report thereon in the manner of the report (R.), which is a return of the improvements of the Laguayrian emigrants.

11. Besides these books and records there is another, which serves as a summary index to the contents of all reports and papers deemed worthy of preservation. The papers are numbered; and when given out for any purpose, the name of the party receiving them is marked in pencil in the book, and obliterated on the voucher being returned.

12. In matters of disbursement, the accounts are kept in the common form, but the receipts are taken in duplicate, as per form (S.).

13. The Guelph business, as relates to the land, is arranged on the same principle, but with a necessary modification. The form (T.) is the application adopted there for farm-lots, and (V.) for town lots; but the same system of cheques is not requisite, the business being conducted with the parties in person, who have not hitherto required letters of licence. It is proposed to make them the first subjects of the contracts.

JOHN GALT.

No. II.

OUTLINE OF A PLAN

For a gradual Assimilation of the Currency of the North American Provinces with that of the United Kingdom.

1. The deplorable effects constantly arising from the insecurity and fluctuating value of the means hitherto employed in mercantile remittances, demonstrate that some other medium, than specie or bills of exchange, is requisite, independent of merchandize, for the dealings of the commercial world.

2. The desideratum would be supplied were an establishment formed which would be to commercial nations what the Bank of England, by its branches, is becoming to England.

3. The stability, the character of the Bank of England, and its identification, directly or indirectly, with all the money interests of the British empire, clearly point it out as an establishment which, as far as the United Kingdom and her Colonies are concerned, might be easily adapted to the purpose in view; while ultimately it would become the heart to the circulating medium of the whole commercial world.

4. But the object in view is too vast to be accomplished at once; the way should be gradually opened and experience should regulate the adaptation: on this account it is suggested that the two Canadas be chosen as the field of the first experiment, and for these reasons:

5. 1st, The attempt to introduce a metallic currency has failed; 2d, the circulating medium of both provinces is paper; 3d, British coin is never seen, and, except among the Canadians below Quebec, rarely a silver dollar; 4th, the Banks offer but local accommodation: their paper is at a discount in the State of New York. It is, therefore, desirable, since paper must be the circulating medium, for specie cannot swim so near the engrossing gulfs of the American paper circulation, that a better class of responsible paper should be introduced, of a kind and character that would be likely to preserve itself at par.

6. But the gradual substitution, of a better class of paper in the Canadas would effect comparatively but little good, unless the notes could be made a medium of remittance, and be rendered objects of trade for that purpose, to the neighbouring American merchants: nor does this seem difficult.

7. Let the Bank of England send to agents in the two provinces, notes of all descriptions above one pound *payable* in London like the existing post bills.

8. Let the agents be instructed to dispose of these notes, —1st, by supplying the Commissariats and the local Governments;—2d, by purchasing mercantile Bills of Exchange;—3d, by exchanging them for the notes of the Provincial, and particularly of the American, Banks. The discretion of Discounting, or of ordinary Banking, might afterwards be extended to the agents, but in the first instance this does not appear to be expedient.

9. Agents should be appointed for Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, and York, and should be subordinate to a Superintendent. They should render a statement to the Superintendent weekly, and he should transmit a monthly abstract to the Bank in London.

10. The system should be so constructed as to obviate

risk to the Bank; the agents, as treasurers, should give security; the notes should require the signature of the different agents before being issued in the Canadas, and the notes unsigned should remain with the Superintendent until the agents required a supply; the supply, with the amount in their hands, should not be allowed to exceed the amount of their respective securities.

11. On the details of the system here proposed, it is unnecessary to enter, but the probable effects would seem likely to be these :—Bank of England notes would acquire an ascendancy over other paper, not only in the provinces, but in the neighbouring states; they would be bought up for remittances to England, perhaps to Europe in general; they would draw into the hands of the agents the notes of other Banks, both Canadian and American, and thus give the Superintendent command over the bullion and specie, in the coffers of these Banks. The only risk to the Bank of England, would be in the mercantile Bills purchased, but which, by regulations of easy formation, might be almost entirely obviated; in every other respect the business would be safe, profitable, and of incalculable political influence to the British government. 1st, that government would pay to the Bank in London the monies wanted for the public service in the Canadas, which payments could meet the notes issued by the agents to the Commissariats and to the local governments; 2d, the remittance of the mercantile Bills would meet the issues made for them; and, 3d, by means of the notes of other Banks, the Superintendent would always have it in his power to remit specie and bullion for notes sold or exchanged for the notes of other Banks; moreover, it is probable, that the paper of the Bank of England would always be at a premium.

Guelph, U. C. 22d Feb. 1828.

No. III.

" A MYSTERY—FOR THE BYRON CRITICS.

" To the EDITOR of the MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

" SIR,

" The receipt of the following note, from my friend, Mr. Galt, has occasioned my going, with some pains, into the subject referred to; and the following paper, as the result, may perhaps interest the admirers of Byron's genius. I give you the whole as it stands, for obvious reasons.

' Barn Cottage, Saturday.

' DEAR P.,

' The other night Mrs. Thomas Sheridan told me, at Lady Cork's, that if I would look into an old romance, called ' The Three Brothers,' written by one Pickersgill, I should be surprized at the use Lord Byron had made of it, especially in his ' Deformed Transformed.' I have since had the book, and really the coincidences are very wonderful; for he seems also to have borrowed the idea of ' Manfred'—even to the name—from it, a drama which I have ever regarded as the most original of his works. But I have only skimmed the romance;—look at it, and tell me what you think of it with reference to Byron, who seems to have derived the singular hue of the gloom for which he is so distinguished, from this atrocious, but curious novel.

' Your's truly,

' J. G.'

' P.S.—Who can this Pickersgill be? Is it possible that our friend, the Academician, was the intellectual father of

Byron? You know how much of late he has been addicted to Greek girls, and other piratical gentry of his lordship's acquaintance.'

"Every thing regarding Byron and his productions is interesting, so as soon as possible I sat down to the book. Nothing but the curiosity with which the above communication had impressed me, and the request of my respected friend, could have induced me to wade through four volumes of high romance—wild, though powerful in conception, and often extravagant in language—as this production is, and belonging altogether to a school now most properly extinct. But a reader, at all conversant with Byron's poetry, who should undertake the same labour, would hardly fail to be surprized by the similarity in the mode of thinking, and the taste as to subjects and sentiments, between this obscure author and the noble bard. So apparent is this in reading the romance, and so little merit is there in the discovery, either on the part of Mrs. Sheridan, Mr. Galt, or myself, that on turning to the title-page of the fourth volume, I was much amused to find it confirmed by some anonymous reader, with whose name I regret that I am unable to favour the world. In short, one of those circulating-library literati, who display their critical talents by making pencil annotations on all works honoured by their perusal, has, besides other notes through the course of the copy that I obtained from the library, under-written the words, 'Joshua Pickersgill, Esq.,' on the title-page, as follows:—'No such name ever heard of—Quere? *can this be a boyish production of Lord Byron!*' I have ascertained that the romance *was* written by a Joshua Pickersgill. Of the other part of the note my reader may make what he pleases.

"As the discovering of plagiarisms, real or supposed, however, is a labour little accordant with either my taste or feelings, I prefer, at least in the first instance, referring to

those passages in the romance, which, having a remarkable application to his own case and dispositions, were calculated to make a strong impression upon the ardent mind of the noble poet. The principal character in ' The Three Brothers,' is a wayward and high-spirited youth, the son of a man of bad passions and most questionable morals, (vide Byron's father,) and born under circumstances of melancholy and mystic presage as to his fate in life. The boy is beautiful both in face and person, and ' his constitution was so instinct with love, that he almost was insensible to an inferior feeling for womankind; and when his eighth year was yet incomplete, he affected and amazed his auditors with the inimitable tenderness of his reply to a young lady, who, amusing herself with him, inquired of him what it was to love, answered, " It is to die in yourself, to live in another." '—(Vol. iv. p. 254.) By an accident, when with his parents previous to this, the boy's spine is broken, and he is at the same time wounded in the shoulder by a ball from a pistol, which causes a deformity in the back. This misfortune, by destroying the beauty of his form and making him remarkable, and often an object of ridicule to companions, otherwise his inferiors, sours his disposition, as well as disappoints his romantic fancies, until becoming the mental slave of his unsightly hump, he begins to regard it as the grand cause of all the miseries which he is destined to suffer, and the bitter occasion of incessant self-contempt. The power with which the author of the romance unfolds and illustrates the consequences of this deformity, need not be here dwelt upon; but when we know how excessively sensitive Byron was, all his life, upon the subject of his misshapen foot—how bitterly, and probably unforgivingly, he brooded over the unreasonable and unfeeling taunt of his mother upon the subject—and how this personal deformity, slight as it was, made him remarkable among his com-

panions, and became connected afterwards with the one great disappointment of his life—we may have some idea of the impression, that every thing in these volumes would make upon a mind like his, narrating as it does so many circumstances, and evolving so many feelings, which spoke so home to his own experience. When we further reflect, that he regarded his early disappointment concerning Miss Chaworth, as the great event which had not only shaped his after life to misfortune and suffering, but which had, in some sense, disturbed his faculties, (Moore, vol. ii. p. 790, *notes*,) we shall see of what importance the impressions given by this congenial romance may have been, in forming the tone, if not the conceptions, of his maturer mind. The manner in which Byron afterwards speaks of Miss Chaworth's refusal of him, and marriage with another, is most affecting. 'A marriage,' he says, 'for which she sacrificed the prospects of two very ancient families, and a heart which was her's from ten years old, and a head which has never been quite right since.'—(Ib.) And to what does he in his own 'Memoranda' ascribe this irremediable disappointment? It will be recollected that, in his delightful intercourse with this young lady, there were constant dances in the evening at Matlock, in which, being unable to join on account of his lame foot, he had the pain of being obliged to sit looking on, 'solitary and mortified,' while his idol was handed round caressingly by another. He afterwards had the further pain to understand fully that he had no share in her heart. 'One of the most painful of those humiliations,' says Mr. Moore, 'to which the defect in his foot had exposed him, must have let the truth in, with dreadful certainty, upon his heart. He either was told of, or overheard Miss Chaworth saying to her maid, "Do you think I could care anything for that lame boy?" This speech, as he himself described it, was like a shot through his heart. Though late at night when

he heard it, he instantly darted out of the house, and scarcely knowing whither he ran, never stopped till he found himself at Newstead.'—(Vol. i. p. 56.)

" It is not for persons of ordinary sensibility to conceive what a mind like Byron's must have suffered during all this, or how he must have been impressed at that age with every thought and sentiment in a story, in so many respects similar to his own. For Arnaud, in this novel, with the ' constitutional instincts ' already alluded to, had also, forgetting his hump, become intensely enamoured of the pretty Camilla; but, to his deep mortification, she rejected his admiration in favour of his half-brother, Lewis. Circumstances call the latter away, and thus proceeds the tale :—' On the morning of their departure, Arnaud secretly followed Lewis to a knoll, pleasantly shaded by tall pines, where Camilla usually could be found at her diversions. The tears, the two latter shed at separation, fell like oil on Arnaud's passions, which were fermented to the crisis of outrage, when, to some jealous remark from Lewis, Camilla earnestly replied, " Indeed! indeed! I can't fancy him, he has so ugly a shoulder!" These words burnt to Arnaud's heart worse than a venomed javelin,' &c.—(Vol. iv. p. 256.)

" This poignantly-felt circumstance, together with the gradual dislike to him of his own parents, and the avoidance and ridicule of his youthful companions, rankled in the sensitive mind of the boy, and is represented to have stirred up the deepest feelings connected with his strong and wayward passions. Speaking of the parents of Arnaud, it is said—' The bitterest consciousness of his deformity was derived from their indelicate, though, perhaps, insensible alteration of conduct; and those culpabilities which before they had nourished in him as the eccentricities of a bold spirit, they now censured and condemned.'—(P. 250.) All this, together with the tantalizing jealousy of his brother, who had won the

love of Camilla, and his constantly being reminded of his misfortune, not only by the ill-concealed sneers of his own comrades and his father's servants, but by his very shadow on the wall, or his image reflected in the clear bosom of the pool, wrought upon his mind until he cursed the voice of the people, who in general derided him, not as 'the voice of God,' but rather as the croaking of a demon;—spoke of his own person as 'his abhorrent enemy,' adding, that 'his shoulder depended like a millstone on him to sink him down to hell.' 'Yet would he decry the slightest allusion to it in another, and so sickly was his sensibility in that particular, that he wished the terms hunch and crookedness could be abolished from language and memory,' &c.—(Ib. p. 261.)

"Though a lame or club-foot is a much less staring deformity than a hump on the shoulder, yet the impression that this narrative and all its adjuncts made on the mind of the youthful poet, painting as it did, in exaggerated colours and strong language, what he must himself have felt so deeply, and at a period of life when they were appreciated with all their poignancy, (the 'Brothers' was published in 1803, when Byron was fifteen,) is evident not only from his attempting to dramatize the incident many years after, under the title of 'The Deformed Transformed,' but from many other circumstances, both in his own life and writings, which can only be perceived by a study as well of these as of the strange production now referred to. The novel goes on to narrate, that the deformed, under the influence of bitter feelings and impious sentiments, occasioned by his misfortune, utters curses against Heaven, and maledictions on himself, so appalling, that, together with a species of mystic knowledge of which he had become master, the Evil One rises at his call, and, amidst an awful, yet sublime phantasmagoria conjured up in a cave, succeeds in transforming the deformed into a noble shape of his own choosing, in which

he many years walks the earth; and, not happier than he was before, although feared and respected wherever he goes, he works out that guilt, and consummates that vengeance upon his own father, which gratifies his indomitable pride, and illustrates the dread misanthropic grandeur of his nature. I should not have dwelt so long upon this point, did it not in my mind afford so many suggestions to the tracing of Byron's early impressions, and also as clearing the way for whatever observations, respecting the originality of 'Manfred,' the perusal of the 'Brothers' enables me to make. Before we have done with the 'Deformed,' however, it may be observed, that the author of the romance having given the most natural, and consequently most powerful circumstances and reflections incident to the situation, and thus in some sort exhausted the subject, nothing could have induced Byron after this to attempt it, but his own deep impressions and feelings of its interest—knowing, as he must have done, that he could add little to it without such plagiarism as it was not likely a mind like his would submit to. Accordingly his drama, though somewhat more *rationalized* in its execution, (if one can use such a term,) from the conception of the romance, is, with all its vigour of expression, much inferior to the sublime mysticism of the original, as well as losing, as before observed, the best part of the adjuncts.

"As to the story of 'Manfred' in this romance, it is incidentally introduced in the fourth volume, under the title of 'The Guilt of Friendship,' to illustrate a case of hypothetical guilt; or rather by an inverted case, and a sophistical argument about friendship and love, to attempt an excuse for a vile commerce under both of these appellations, consisting of an imaginary mixture of fratricide and friendship, and a real one of incest and adultery, too abominable to be here detailed. Whether Byron is indebted to this romance

in general, or the tale of 'Manfred' in particular, for the original conception which induced the construction of his remarkable dramatic poem of that name, must be gathered rather from the general characteristics of the story, and such incidents as we shall mention, than from the short tale of 'The Guilt of Friendship' itself.

"The great point, both of interest in the character of 'Manfred,' as well as of that originality in conception, for which Mr. Galt, in common with the world, gives the poet credit, is his being invested with a mysterious guilt, which by some dread act he has incurred, but which has also given him power over the spirits of the invisible world, while it causes him such misery as to make him eagerly seek the waters of Lethe, or to desire anxiously a deliverance from existence. What this guilt consists of, is the question; and that Byron had discovered any novel species of it, may well be doubted. If the attention of the inquirer is led to the present romance, with a view to any known species of guilt, there is certainly no lack of it in these volumes, and the reader or the poet has only to take his choice from among its wild and revolting pictures. If, however, as Mr. Galt, with much ingenuity, argues, the 'deed without a name,' is meant to consist of the immolation of a human sacrifice to the infernal powers, and that of a person beloved by the horrid fratricide,—such as might be Manfred's sister, Astarte,—as is said to be done by the students of the black art—the performance we are speaking of will be found to supply the hint as to this also; for in a mysterious vault-scene, (vol. iii. p. 240,) we have an intruder into the dark spot, where he finds the body of a man coiled up in a corner, transfixed 'in the eminence of horror, as the recollection started in him, that a human carcase is an ingredient essential to some magical compositions.'

"Considering the amazing beauty and power of Byron's

drama, any mention of these coincidences is only meant for further illustration of the impression, which the romance before us seems to have made on his youthful mind. Another or two, are, perhaps, yet more remarkable. The burden of Manfred's regret, is his impious and self-destructive thirst after knowledge, which has led him, in the prosecution of his inquiries, to intrude too far into the hidden mysteries of things. His opening speech, accordingly, contains these sentiments:—

> 'Sorrow is knowledge; they who know the most
> Must mourn the deepest o'er the fatal truth—
> The tree of knowledge is not that of life.'

And further on—

> 'Knowledge is not happiness,' &c.

In short, the sentiment, in various forms, runs through the whole drama. So also here, in 'The Three Brothers,' (vol. iv. p. 349—50,) we find the restless and discontented Arnaud, who has, as well as Manfred, been dealing with the powers of the invisible world, lamenting thus—'Wisdom, unjoyous, broke the wholesome current of my blood,' &c. 'Perdition lay before me,' he adds, almost in the words put into the mouth of Manfred,—'unavoidable by retrogation, for truly I felt that never would the fiend have gratified my desire of such wisdom, could it be used to aid my deliverance from him. So conditioned, I lamented the exchange of folly for wisdom,' &c. But further—'Now do I perceive that much of wisdom is much of woe, and that to pass through this world, certain emotions are necessary to the heart, as certain languages are to the tongue. Wisely hast thou resolved in declining complete wisdom—to me 'tis torturous,' &c.

"But there are more of these coincidences in this ro-

mance, both reminding the reader of other incidents in ‘ Manfred,’ and of many parts of the poet’s after productions. Manfred is seated among the sublime solitudes of the Alps; Arnaud, otherwise Julian, (for Manfred in this romance is merely suppositious,) is also among the precipices of the Swiss mountains. Manfred, in his eagerness to rid himself of existence, is about to leap into an abyss beneath him, when his bound is prevented by the accidental presence of a chamois-hunter. Arnaud is also arrested, when about to make a similar leap, (vol. iv. p. 336,) by the sudden interference of his faithful dog, who, unseen until the moment, pulls the unhappy meditator of suicide by the skirts. Manfred, however, does not exceed Arnaud in eager desire for death; for the latter, in the wildness of his disappointment, in being prevented from his aim, tosses the faithful animal high in air, until it is dashed to fragments among the rocks; and when the creature is immolated to his fury, he moralizes over its reeking entrails, on organization, ‘ life, sense, and sentiment,’ in a style that irresistibly collates in the reader’s mind, with Byron’s well-known reflections on a human skull in his great poem of ‘ Childe Harold.’

“ Whether the indescribable figure that appears to Manfred, (but to *his* sense alone,) while the Abbot is present with him in the last scene of the drama, may have been suggested by the ‘ tremendous apparition ’ of the murdered Gervase in this romance, which more than once (vol. iii. pp. 216, 223, and vol. iv. p. 201, &c.) comes in the shape of ‘ an indistinct something,’—a figure so horrible, that he who saw it, stood with ‘ cheeks pallid with terror, and eyes half unsocketed by intenseness of gaze,’—it is probably not worth while to inquire. But when we read the unhappy Arnaud’s apostrophe to the manes of his faithful dog, and hear him saying after the rash act—‘ By my soul we are fellows of the same nature, nor can any distinction of ex-

terior shape justify the caprice or cruelty that slayeth thee: nay, there is a vice of ingratitude in it, for thou art knit to me by an attachment that doth me daily service; thou humourest my humours, adoptest my instructions, and exchangest thine own nature for mine,' &c.—the whole tone, as well as the thoughts, are irresistibly compared in the reader's mind with Byron's beautiful epitaph on his Newfoundland canine companion, and with the affecting allusions, he at various times makes, to that true and tried friend.

"To pursue these coincidences much further would be tedious, and might become fanciful and unjust. In them all, we see the great poet, the discriminating and the intense mind, at least refining and rationalizing the crude, though grand, conceptions, of another poetical, but ill-trained intellect, which seems not to have understood its own power—and which, though remarkably similar to Byron's, certainly had not a tithe of his chastened good taste. Hence the sentiments and conceptions in these volumes, may have strongly commended themselves to the poet's mental constitution; but they are in general ill brought out, and often so wild, that they can only have their effect on minds, more or less, like his own. Many examples might be given of this, but one may suffice. I have already quoted the answer of the deformed hero to the young lady, who asked him what it was to love; namely, that 'it is to die in yourself, to live in another.' Now mark how Byron, in 'The Dream,' expresses and amplifies this beautiful sentiment, in reference to the breathing light of his youth, and the dark cloud of his manhood—Miss Chaworth:—

> 'He had no breath, no being but in her's;
> She was his voice; he did not speak to her,
> But trembled on her words; she was his sight,
> For his eye followed her's, and saw with her's,
> Which coloured all his objects:—he had ceased

To live within himself; she was his life,
The ocean to the river of his thoughts,
Which terminated all.'

" I might further pursue this subject, by referring to this romance, (vol. iv. p. 11,) for those well known sentiments of Byron upon that dubious matter, a woman's age; to the beginning of the tale of Manfred already alluded to, (ib. p. 145, &c.,) for many of those original sentiments, regarding friendship, scattered through the writings of the noble poet. I might also add, that if Byron has given us a vigorous picture of a Venetian conspiracy in 'Marino Faliero'—of a siege (Corinth)—of a guilty and sad being, giving a long history of himself in confession to a priest, (the Giaour,) we have similar incidents, and much more, in the wild production before me; but I prefer closing this paper with an extract in regard to character, of which the reader, meditating on that of the noble poet, will, of course, form his own judgment. Before going further, however, it may be necessary to say, that no man of correct feeling would put this romance into the hands of those for whose morals they had any solicitude. But to the illustration.

" Mr. Galt inquires whether the tone and sentiments, in this romance, may not have furnished the ideas of that gloom which pervades all Byron's writings, and is the chief feature which distinguishes his sentiments from those of most former poets. If it be true, as Moore intimates, that 'wrongs and sufferings' (real or fancied) 'were through life the main sources of Byron's inspiration'—and if 'to this one great object of *displaying power*, every other duty was but too likely to be sacrificed,' (vol. ii. p. 784,)—and if, as both his biographers seem to intimate, Byron, in reference to the public, bore somewhat of a double character, nothing appears more likely—considering his early impressions from this romance, of which we have already spoken.

The long description of Arnaud's character here, it is impossible to read without thinking of the character of Byron, or, at least, of that one which he has drawn to the view of the world—so strange a mixture of tenderness, and something not so amiable, that it is little wonder his biographers should not have fully understood it, when he understood it not himself. But attend to the romance, (vol. iv. pp. 252, 273, 275.) In Arnaud's early life, 'when his mother observed to him how long his eyelashes latterly were grown, he replied, in tones that melted the words—" Alas! no wonder! for I have watered them much of late." The looks and gestures that accompanied these kinds of speech, denoted their origin in a heart, that would not suffer others to think it contented with the case in which it was; that likewise was too proud to permit their pity, which it prevented by shewing that it would not pity itself. Of follies he was not more abundant (than other men), for his brain was stronger in wisdom, than his heart in virtue. Some follies he cultivated, because he esteemed them accessary to human happiness; but he failed in his design, for his mode of bringing them into play, raised them to the detestable eminence of vices. Yet one folly, egotism, was virtuous, insomuch that *it revealed his vices.* He was a delightful and sublime instrument, wherefrom the instinctive note converses musically or dissonantly, according as it is struck. When skill and tenderness might have sounded him through the ravishing compass of harmony, ignorance, and rudeness, provoked from him a din of discord; and what so harsh as music in despair?'

" Your's, with respect,

" A. P."

No. IV.

PROSPECTUS.

(CIRCULATED AMONG PARTICULAR FRIENDS.)

THE COLONIAL LAND COMPANY,

TO BE INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER,
AND ACT OF PARLIAMENT;

Limiting the liability of the Shareholders to the amount of their respective Subscriptions.

THE objects of this Company are, to purchase tracts of land in the colonies, to sell, settle, and otherwise to dispose of them in retail; to facilitate the location of emigrants on their arrival abroad, and to encourage the agriculture and exports of the British American provinces.

It is known that many such tracts, in the most desirable situations, are in the hands of original grantees of the Crown, not resident in the respective colonies, and that, from the want of capital, these tracts are not only still uncleared, but great impediments to improvement. It is therefore proposed to purchase certain of the most eligible, to improve them by opening roads, constructing bridges, &c., and to give employment, on these and other public works, to the emigrants who are now annually passing, in great numbers, from the United Kingdom to North America. It is not, however, intended that the Company shall engage in the conveyance of emigrants across the Atlantic, but only avail itself of the disposition to emigrate, which at present is so general.

The state and prospects of the Canada Company, after

many doubts, give an assurance of success to this undertaking; the grounds on which it has been projected being equally simple and obvious. The lands, in wholesale, are to be obtained at moderate rates compared to the retail selling prices; and the extent to which emigration has arisen, renders it equally probable that ready sales will be easily effected.

A seigniory and tract of nearly 300,000 contiguous acres, within a few miles, by water, of the city of Montreal, are offered to the Company, and above 37,000 emigrants had reached Quebec before the 1st of August, in the current year.

The capital, £250,000, to be raised in 5000 Shares, at £50 each, payable by instalments, as required; and interest, at 4 per cent. per annum, will be allowed on the capital advanced*.

The privileges as to voting, &c., will be regulated by the charter, under which the first Directors and Auditors will be appointed; and in the mean time, the following gentlemen have been constituted a Provisional Committee:—

JOHN BROWNE, Esq. M.P.
PATRICK MAXWELL STEWART, Esq. M.P.
FREDERICK PAGE, Esq.
E. S. RUTHVEN, Esq. M.P.
GEORGE SINCLAIR, Esq. M.P.
JAMES VETCH, Esq.
JAMES WILSON, Esq.
JOHN WRIGHT, Esq.

JOHN GALT, Esq. Secretary and Superintendent.

Solicitors—Messrs. Freshfield and Son.

* N.B.—The rate of interest in the provinces is 6 per cent. in Halifax currency; the sales of land are made payable by instalments bearing interest, and the title-deeds are withheld till the amount is paid.

Counsel in Lower Canada—James Stuart, Esq. Attorney-General.

Bankers—Messrs. Masterman and Co., Nicholas Lane; Messrs. Wright, Selby, and Co., Henrietta Street, Covent Garden; to whom applications for Shares may be addressed (post paid) "To the Colonial Land Company", or to John Galt, Esq., 15, Serle Street, Lincoln's Inn.

END OF APPENDIX.

THE

STAR OF DESTINY.

A Dramatic Spectacle.

PREFACE.

THE selection of materials for my AUTOBIOGRAPHY, has not proved voluminous; and therefore, to give the reader his full pennyworth, I have ventured to subjoin an unpublished peculiar dramatic essay. It was written many years ago, soon after Manfred appeared, and was intended to present a more scenic version of the same kind of subject. It seemed to me, that the sublimity of Byron's beautiful drama, was too refined and meditative for representation, and this notion emboldened me to fuse the mystery of Faustus again, and to mix it with baser stuff, for the use of the million, as gold is alloyed for purposes of circulation. This is all I can say, in excuse for the faults of the scenes intended to vary the tenour of the piece: the serious defects are a more inveterate and fatal inheritance.

In adapting the story for exhibition, it was necessary to conceal the allegory, but not so entirely as that it should not be obvious. Still, however, it is done, perhaps, so effectually, that many readers may require to be told Count Herman is really only a crazy lover, and that all the silent servitude of the fiend, is but the phantasy of his morbid and moody imaginations.

It ought to be mentioned here, what, indeed, will require no interpreter to explain,—namely, that the subjoined sketch neither belongs to the legitimate drama, nor to melo-dramatic composition. It was imagined, that the large theatres were

not very well calculated for the representation of regular plays, and that, possibly, in the present dearth and scarcity of them, some sort of exhibition might be rendered popular, which should combine intellectual energy with visible magnificence. The subsequent essay is an attempt to construct a work of this kind. I have endeavoured to introduce a dialogue that may be heard, and a series of exhibitions that may be viewed, which shall be more impressive than pantomime, and equally gorgeous in the spectacle.

Some time ago, before my last illness, while meditating on this conception, I intended to draw the attention of Mr. Stanfield to the subject, and actually appointed a meeting with him, to explain my idea, when prevented by indisposition. My project was, to introduce upon the stage something equivalent to books of travels. For example, to explain to him that a very splendid and rational exhibition might be produced, by representing, as I proposed to do, for a first pageant, a traveller ascending the Nile, giving, in the course of the voyage, all the striking views of Egypt on the one side, and in the return, to perform the same thing for those on the other.

This was intended as the substratum of the piece; a fable, however, might be engrafted on it; but that was not so essential, as to make the audience see all the choice things which would appear to the traveller, and receive such an oral description as would make the exhibition approximate to the truth and instruction of travelling.

My reason for fixing on the Nile for the first of the series, was, because I thought it furnished the best materials for scenic pomp; but my idea was, to embrace all interesting tours, and instead of acting plays, to adapt travels to representation. Ill health has prevented me from following out the idea, but a splendid, instructive, and most interesting amusement might be formed on this basis

Nor did my fancy stop here: it seemed to me, that histories and novels might be also represented, and that now, when dramas with dialogue could no longer be acted with success, a species of dumb show might be exhibited, that would not be inexplicable; but I can only throw out the notion for others to work with. Othello's occupation is literally gone, and something else must be tried.

Combined with scenery, well painted, and correct in circumstances, I would have, now and then, living pictures introduced, in which accomplished actors, especially posture-masters, could perform, and suitable musical accompaniments made to enhance the illusion, and increase the delight of the scene.

Though not exactly a work falling under the class which I conceive might be thus fitted for representation, the STAR OF DESTINY gave rise to the idea, and it is for those of more skill, health, and leisure, to consider, by observing the construction of it, with this explanation, how far, in the existing state of theatrical pageants, the plan is worthy of being tried.

31ST AUGUST, 1833.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

MEN.

EMPEROR HENRY, the Birder.
HERMAN.
VENTOSE.
1ST CITIZEN.
2D CITIZEN.
SIR GONDIBERT.
BOY.
LUDOLPH.
RUGENSTEIN.
LUNENBURGH.
SERVANT.
BENEDICT.
BERNSTIEN.
PRIOR.
INQUISITOR.

WOMEN.

1ST WOMAN.
2D WOMAN.
BEATRICE.
MERL.

MUTES.

FIEND.
CHILD.
SERVANTS.
INQUISITORS.
COURTIERS and ATTENDANTS.

CHORUS.

MEN, WOMEN, and HUNTSMEN.

THE

STAR OF DESTINY.

A Dramatic Spectacle.

ACT I.

SCENE I.—A Gothic Study. *Window opens—shews a beautiful Star, whose radiance appears occasionally to fade and expand. In the middle of the room a magical mangaul burning.—Herman, seated at a table, with an antique volume in his hand; a dagger and a lamp on the table.*

Her. O'er every birth a star of fate presides,
And he that knows his orb of destiny,
May, by the changes of its radiance, tell
Whene'er his good or evil genius reigns.
This knowledge, earned by many a midnight vigil,
Has taught me that yon silver star is mine,
Which nightly, since I conn'd this wond'rous volume,
Hath dimm'd its fires, and warn'd me to forbear.

Yet have I still undaunted read, and now,
While pale and fitfully its beams shrink in,
The ingredients of a potent spell I mingle,
And but three drops of my own blood are wanting,
To give me proof that to my hests and bidding,
A spirit of dread ministry will come.
(*Rises.*) Why should the glorious planet fade at this?
Is there then peril to my better part
In this mysterious science? If I stop,
How shall I know the secrets written here
Are knowledge or phantasma? Can there be
Evil in truth? For to unfold the art
That summons spirits from their dark abode,
Is but to know what is—and what the gods,
In their eternal mysteries have framed.—
Shrink into darkness thou faint trembling light,
I will abide the issues of the spell.

[*He lays down the book, and taking the dagger, holding his arm over the cauldron, pierces a vein.*

The blood refuses. Why will it not come?
It was no groan! 'Tis but the sighing wind,
That sweeps along the silent galleries.
What coward palsy am I smitten with?
I'll strike again. It flows—so now 'tis done.

[*Subterranean noises heard, and a large gaunt hand holding a scroll rises from the middle of the cauldron.*

What horrible apocalypse is this?

[*He takes the scroll and reads.*

"If thou on All Soul's Eve wilt be but mine,
To all thy wishes I will be thy slave."—
Who and what art thou? Show me first thy face,—
Come forth to vision, that I may discern
The strong condition of thy proffer'd service.

[*The scroll vanishes from his hand, solemn music is heard, and a flood of light bursts in from the side scene.*

Hail, thou magnificent refulgent form,
I would not seek to serve a brighter god.
Show me thy power, and what I may expect.

[*The light disappears, and a procession of slaves, bearing treasure, is seen to pass in the air, outside of the window.*

He can give wealth,—treasures would beggar kings—
And I may purchase all that gold can buy;
But love or friendship cannot be so won,
And what is life without them? Pass away,
I will not stoop to take the sordid trash!

[*The vision changes, martial music is heard, an army is seen defiling among mountains, and venerable men come from the gate of a gorgeous city, bearing a crown and sceptre.*

What means this glorious pageantry of war,
And these hoar senators, who thus come forth,
Bearing the emblems of imperial state?
They point towards yon myriads of the brave,
That throng the hills, like the bright seraphim
Reposing on the golden evening clouds:—
And now they kneel and offer me the crown.
Ha! would he bribe me with ambition's bauble,
And place me on a far-seen pinnacle,
An idol in the sunshine, to be cast
Into a darker and a deeper ruin
Than gulfs the common fortunes of mankind?
Vanish, ye hollow and fantastic pomps!
Ye vain illusions! that but slaves can worship;
I have not studied to be fooled by shows.

[*The vision changes, and Sir Gondibert is seen in a wild and desolate place, with his hands bound: —troubled and mournful music heard.*

My rival Gondibert.—Canst thou give him,—
Surrender him, to my awaken'd hate?
No, Spirit, no; I'll not be brib'd by this.
His noble nature won fair Beatrice,
And though I mourn that lovely maid's denial,
I bear no malice to her gallant choice.
Away, brave Gondibert, live for thy love!

[*The vision changes, and Beatrice is seen reposing in a splendid apartment—delightful soft music.*

Wilt thou give Beatrice? O let me catch her;
On this condition I am thine for ever.

[*The vision vanishes; the stage is darkened, and a wavering form of the demon is seen, amidst thunder and lightning, exulting over Herman.*

Oh, horror, horror! Hell! must I be thine?

[*Exit Herman; dreadful thunder and lightning.*

SCENE II.—A Street. *An ancient College seen on fire at a distance—bells ringing—a crowd of people rushing from all quarters, and in such garbs as may be supposed hastily put on in a moment of alarm.*

Chorus.

Mercy on us! What's the matter?
Stop your clamour—cease your clatter.
'Tis a fire; fire, fire;
Where, where?
There, there,
See it burns,

In the air;
Higher, higher, higher, higher.
Oh, the flames, how they mount!
How they wrestle, lick, and point—
The students and the college,
The professors and their knowledge;
Their cellars and their libraries,
Their wigs, and gowns, and pageantries;
Their mutton, beef, and bacon,
Their turkeys, geese, and capon;
Their physics, rhyme, and reason,
And their delicates in season,
All, all, but serve as fuel,
To the flames so fierce and cruel.
See, how they clasp the steeple;
It shakes—it will come down;
Lord have mercy on the people,
It will murder half the town!

[*The steeple falls with a great crash, the flames are extinguished, and the bell ceases to ring.*

Enter VENTOSE, *with a petticoat on, and a large powdered wig.*

VEN. Obstreperous nightingales! home to your nests;
Nor with nocturnal clamour deafen thus
The solemn night, that is already dumb.
1st WOM. How has this happened?
2d WOM. Tell us, tell us, do.
VEN. Peace, matron, peace. Art not ashamed, old hag,
Thus in the street, and at the midnight hour,
To shew thyself with breeches for a shawl?
2d WOM. And fellow, where got you this petticoat?
VEN. A fig-leaf in the hurry pluck'd.
1st CIT. And this?—

2d Cit. It is the rector's wig! how came it here?

Ven. The hand of instinct placed it on my head.

1st Wom. But tell us, tell us how the fire began—
What lives are lost—who perished in the flames?

Ven. Save those whose burglaries and petty thefts
Vex the sweet temper of good housewifes, none,
None perished in the flames.

2d Wom. What does he mean?

Ven. The vulgar jargon calls them rats and mice.
As for the fire, wherein they were consum'd,
And now in ashes pale infect the air,
That 'gan in the renowned Count Herman's chamber;
Whose chymic pot, being with calx surcharged,
Of most combustible and testy humour,
Crack'd, and went off in those ambitious fires,
Which you have seen flapping the cheeks of Heaven.

1st Cit. And has the Count himself escaped unhurt?

Ven. In lith and limb, member and joint, he has;
But what infection from the fume he took
Into his nostrils, making sick the brain,
Cannot be told; but like a thing distraught,
He rous'd the college with his scalded yells.
I started at the sound; and oh, sad vision!
Beheld him in the court—his stockings down,
And not a coat upon his helpless back,
Unslipper'd, pacing wild; while all on fire,
The riven rafters of his chamber roof,
Did burn like Erebus, or town of Troy,
What time Minerva, and the goddess proud,
Turn'd old queen Hecuba into a bitch,
That gnaw'd the heel of many a Greek that night.
But ladies now, and courteous gentlemen,
Let's all repair unto our several homes,
And doff these garbs, wherein we dressed ourselves

In such confounded hurry. For this fire,
Longer to stay were to incur a cold,
Or deadly cough; therefore to bed, to bed.

[*Exeunt severally.*

SCENE III.—A Glade in a Wood.

Enter Sir Gondibert, Beatrice, Merl, *children and attendants.*

Sir Gon. It is a lovely sylvan solitude.
Here the meek primrose earliest lifts her eye;
The daisy here, on the smooth grassy knoll,
Smirks a bright welcome to the vernal sun;
While yet the spring has scarcely dared to pass
From midst the branches of the neighbouring grove.

Beat. The mavis and the linnet mingle songs
With the bold blackbird's full, round note of joy.
The solemn jays here chatter garrulous,
Like blithsome gossips in a nappy nook;
And choughs and rooks forget their boding here,
To caw repose. The humming waterfall
Sings like a nurse, a soothing lullaby.

Boy. How tame the butterflies are in this place.
Three have I caught; look, bright as the pea blossom;
And I have chased a golden honey bee
From flower to flower, till I can run no longer.

Beat. Then sit thee down, sweet rogue, and rest thyself;
And Merl, till the village dancers come,
Invoke the wood-nymphs to our revelry.

[*Sir Gondibert, Beatrice, and children sit.*

Merl *sings.*

Ode to the Wood-Nymphs.

Come, ye nymphs, whose eyes like dew,
Twinkle these green branches through;

Whose timid steps are only heard,
When rustling wind, or hopping bird,
Stirs the fallen leaves so sear,
Come ye wood-nymphs softly here—
Softly come, and with you bring,
Flowers and fragrancies of spring;
With the ripen'd apples' blushes,
Peeping forth the bowery bushes:
Bashful whisp'ring they appear—
Come ye gentle wood-nymphs here.
Hasten, for the summer gales,
Slumber in the new mown vales,
And bring with you leafy boughs,
To fan our dancers' glowing brows;
Garlands too, for maids to wear,
Bring, sweet nymphs:—Our pastimes share.

[*Sir Gondibert and Beatrice come forward—Herman is seen at a distance.*

Sir Gond. It is the Count! alas, how he is chang'd!
His looks are wan and woeful, and he seems
A man that wrestles with ill-boding fancies.
It is not study that has done all this.

Beat. It cannot be, his passion should yet live;
And but of late he has been seen to wear
These knotted brows and that wan melancholy.
Shall we invite him to partake our pleasures?

Sir Gond. Do, my sweet Beatrice—but see, the children
Already press and beckon him to come.

Enter Herman, *led by two children.*

Boy. You shall not stay if you will not be merry.

Her. Thou pretty fairy! How his mother's beauty
Dawns in his young face, like the budded rose.
Oh, Beatrice—too happy Gondibert!

BEAT. (*approaching*). Come, sit with us, Lord Herman, on
this bank;
To-day we hold a little revel here
To please our children. See, our rustic neighbours
Are gaily coming; let us view their sports.

They sit down; enter dancers, villagers, and VENTOSE *with them:—a dance.*

HER. (*rising*). This sight is hateful to me, and the looks
Of these glad cherubs chafe my troubled heart;
Fiend, fiend, where art thou?
[*The fiend appears, muffled in black.*
—Blast this scene of bliss.
[*Exit Herman and fiend.*

SIR GOND. Alas! how is that shining spirit faded,
The beam and glory of it all eclips'd.

BEAT. But come, we must not let this mar our sports.

SIR GOND. Ventose, you dance?

VEN. I did, Sir Gondibert;
But that was when the bouncing blood of youth
Leapt from my heart, and prompted up my heel:
I was accounted then a gracious dancer.

SIR GOND. Indeed, Ventose! Thou wilt yet try thy skill?

BEAT. I pray thee do—thou art not yet too old.

VENT. Ah, lady fair! to such a fond entreaty,
It were most stern not to be found consenting.
Bid, then, these capering bumpkins stand apart,
And while the sweet musicians ply their sticks,
I will essay to ape my wonted graces.
[*Ventose dances—the children and others laugh—in an instant a shriek is heard—all fly—a wild boar crosses the stage, and returns, dragging Ventose.*

SCENE IV.—A Chamber.

HERMAN (*alone*).

The loss of Beatrice was as perdition;
And raging passion, like the blasts of hell,
Then swept me to despair—Oh, Beatrice,
For thee a dreadful forfeit I have made,
And yet I have thee not—But I may have.
It is a vantage destiny must yield,
Though I have gained it at a fatal price.
Come, thou dread demon, that art bound to serve me,
Come and fulfil thy part, accursed fiend!

[*The demon appears.*

I would have Beatrice within my castle
A willing guest—Go, find the means to send her,
And let me see how thou perform'st the task.

[*The demon vanishes—thunder—the walls of the chamber open, and show an old man on a bed of sickness, surrounded by attendants—he delivers papers to Ludolph; the fiend is seen approaching behind, and, in a moment, when the patient appears to pray, he strikes him dead with a dart.*

HER. What means this visionary scene of death,
I see there but a pale and dying man
Delivering his last testaments? The fiend!
Ha! 'tis the demon strikes the mortal blow.

[*The vision vanishes—thunder—the chamber appears as before.*

Enter RUGENSTEIN.

RUG. My Lord, my Lord!

HER. How now, what sends thee here?

RUG. An estafette has come from Flaughtenburgh
To say your uncle, at the point of death,
Entreats you earnestly to hasten to him.

HER. I am too late—the old man is no more.

RUG. How know you that, my Lord? Behold another!

Enter LUDOLPH, *with papers.*

LUD. Health and long life to you, most noble Herman,
And wisdom to enjoy your prosp'rous fortunes;
I bring you tidings that will please and sadden.
Your princely uncle, the Lord Palatine,
Is dead, and left you heir to all his treasures.

HER. He was a good man, whose infirmities
Made smooth his transit from this scene of care.

LUD. He lov'd you well, my Lord; oh! his last prayers
Were for your honour here, and bliss hereafter.

HER. The fiend did strike him as he pray'd for me?
Lost, lost, for ever lost!

LUD. My gracious master!

HER. He gave thee papers, tell me what they were?

RUG. (*apart*). How knew he this?

LUD. I have them here, my Lord.

[*Herman waves to Rugenstein to leave the room, and he retires.*

The bonds and vouchers of old heavy debts,
Due by the father of Sir Gondibert.

HER. Ha! give them to me—let me look at them.

[*Ludolph gives the bonds, and Herman glances hastily over them; Ludolph continues speaking.*

LUD. The dying Palatine did strongly charge me,
To beg you, as his solemn last request,
Never to claim the payment of these bonds.
The debtor was his early chosen friend,
And he had long ago cancelled the debt;
But knowing how you lov'd Sir Gondibert,
He thought it would delight your gen'rous nature,
To make this sacrifice to youthful friendship.

HER. All the estate Sir Gondibert possesses,
Will not suffice to satisfy these bonds.
LUD. Nor twice as much, twice told.
HER. Then he is ruin'd!
LUD. He would, my Lord, were they in other hands.
HER. The man is in my power?
LUD. He is, my Lord;
But being so, you have a noble part
In the fulfilment of the legacy.
HER. And what is that?
LUD. To give him up the bonds.
HER. Never, never!
LUD. My Lord, my gracious Lord!
HER. I'll sooner pardon the eternal fiend
That purchased me, than this effectual debt!
LUD. The mother of the poor Sir Gondibert——
HER. Poor, didst thou say? He shall be houseless too,
I will not spare him, or his famish'd brats,
A blanket rag to serve them, when they beg.
LUD. My Lord, the Palatine——
HER. Peace to his manes!
I'll have a thousand masses daily said
For this rich legacy.
LUD. Hear me, my Lord,
The dying Palatine bade me relate,
How in his youth he lov'd, and was rejected—
The lady was the mother of your debtor.
HER. What! of Sir Gondibert, that owes these bonds?
LUD. Ay; and his father, who the debt contracted,
The friend that did supplant him in his love.
He was a poor, but a most gallant knight,
And to promote their love and happiness,
His princely rival, the good Palatine,
Lent him the money that you would exact.

HER. Can heavenly spirits yet commune with mine?
[*He seems inclined to tear the bonds.*
But who will tear that everlasting compact,
By which I have obtained this boon from fate.
Here, take the vouchers! at thy peril, slave,
Remit no means the rigorous law allows,
Till every fraction of the debt be paid!
Take them, I say! I will not hear remonstrance!
[*Exit severally.*

END OF ACT I.

ACT II.

SCENE I.—THE IMPERIAL COURT.

The Emperor HENRY, *the Birder*, LUNENBURGH, *and attendants, in preparation for a tournament.*

EMPEROR (*with a petition in his hand*).

A man beset upon all sides with foes
Cannot be good.—Thrice has this Gondibert
Demanded the judicial combat from us,
And now he craves to dare another knight.
Who is this Gondibert?

LUN. The son of Hordin.

EMP. What! the Hungarian chief that gain'd
The lady whom the Palatine so lov'd!

LUN. The same, your Majesty.

EMP. Know you the man?

LUN. All that I wish.—These tales for which he fights
Spring from a story that affects his knighthood,
As deeply as the trick his father play'd.

EMP. Ah! what was that?
LUN. He had a noble friend,
Count Herman, nephew to the palatine,
From whose free purse he borrow'd heavy treasures,
And with the fruits and other vile devices,
Entic'd a lady to become his bride,
Whose hand was pledg'd to his too gen'rous friend.
EMP. We will not listen more to his request,
His blood hath in it some base sediment
Dulling the brightness of nobility;
We strike the recreant from our list of knights,
And banish him forthwith our court and favour:
Go, see it done! We would the world should learn,
That there are races in the stock of man,
Ordain'd for high and virtuous purposes,
And they are those whose old unstain'd escutcheons,
Are ever seen among their country's banners:
Come, set ye forward to the tournament.

[*Exeunt the court, &c.*

SCENE II.—A SPACIOUS ALPINE LANDSCAPE. *A stupendous mountain in the distant scene.—The gate of* HERMAN'S *castle on the one side.*

LUDOLPH *and* BEATRICE.

LUD. Oh, lady, enter not this castle gate!
Here moody misery, and guilt and woe,
Contend for mastership; and here despair
Calls on self-murder with his gleaming knife.
BEAT. Alas! I know that your once noble master
Is with a fearful frenzy sore beset,
Else had I not, so poor and woe-begone,
Been here upon this doleful pilgrimage.
Go, tell him that the lady Beatrice,

Implores by all the kindness once he bore her,
That she may, as a mendicant forlorn,
Relate the little story of her griefs.

LUD. A pity that my heart cannot resist,
Subdues me to obey your hopeless suit.
Enter the portal—Ha! the Count himself,
See where he comes! St. Mary guard thee well!

[*Exit Ludolph.*

HERMAN *enters, and walks wildly, to and fro, for some time, before noticing* BEATRICE.

HER. (*apart.*) And richly from her round unfolded charms,
Voluptuous Nature, wreathing graces, breath'd
Such taste of warmth into th' embracing air,
That my whole spirit but inhaled delight.
It is herself! Ah, my lov'd Beatrice!
Unsought, unsent for, hast thou come to me?
But, no—no—no—I will not have thee yet,
The means the fiend would use I dare not try,
Yet let me look on that fair face once more;
How is thy beauty faded!

BEAT. Oh, my Lord!
But not so chang'd as that far fairer mind,
Whose sad decay hath caus'd that care to come,
Which preys on my pale cheek.

HER. Ah, Beatrice!
How did I love thee once! thou wast my heaven!
And losing thee, I found no middle place,
But down I sunk, down, down, for ever down!

BEAT. The heart, my Lord, will yield to no constraint,
But you had all from me that mine could give;
The part, weak woman's love, that brooks no bidding,
Was his, that lowly pines beneath your hate.

HER. I do not hate thy husband Gondibert;
I know his virtues, and could once revere them.

BEAT. Oh, then, my Lord, why do you press him down?
Why with those cruel bonds that came upon us,
Like troubled ghosts from out the sepulchres,
Do you so haunt our spirits to despair?

HER. Because I love thee, and would have thee mine;
Come, Beatrice, come to thy lover's arms!
Oh, let me press thee to my throbbing heart!

BEAT. Lay not upon me thy unholy hands!

HER. Yet will I clasp thee to my burning breast!

BEAT. Help, help! oh, help!

Enter GONDIBERT, *and rescues her.*

HER. Detested Gondibert!
The treacherous demon juggles in his bargain,—
For here she came, free and unask'd, she came,
But only to be ravish'd from my arms!
Hell, hell, where art thou? to my summons straight!
[*The demon appears.*
Till thou hast hurl'd yon mountain from its seat,
I'll not believe thou canst give Beatrice!
[*The fiend quits the stage, and is presently seen, in a gigantic form, dilating gradually as he moves among the hills.*
The mountain moves, and I dare not repent!
[*The fiend shivers the mountain to pieces—the earthquake throws down part of the castle—Herman rushes into the wood, and servants come from the gate.*

CHORUS.

Felt ye the earthquake, heard ye the thunder,
Peal through the dungeons and depths of the earth;
Lo, the stern mountains shuddering asunder,
White rolling waters are bursting to birth.

Enter VENTOSE.

1ST SERV. Ventose, Ventose! you that are college bred,
Oh, tell us what these prodigies portend!

VEN. They are themselves the very things they seem:
See where yon cloud-capt mountain prostrate lies;
Which of you has the faith to set it up,
And make it lift its hoary top of snows
Like a tall Alp again? I am aghast,
To think that nature, with such lack of reason,
Should thus, like a non compos bedlamite,
Turn all things topsy-turvy in a trice.

2D SERV. They say the earthquakes are when devils try
If yet the pillars of the world be rotten;
Tugging and shaking them to bring them down.

VEN. Talk not such stuff to a philosopher!
Why, know ye not, unletter'd credulous,
That this firm earth, whereon we stedfast stand,
Is a celestial orb, and in its sphere
Doth to the moon perform a lunar part,
Bearing a lantern to her as she pays
Her nightly visitation?

Enter HERMAN.

HER. Peace, fool, peace!
Why stand ye wond'ring at this accident?
There's not a leaf that falls but brings with it,
As wide a ruin to a living world,
As the huge chaos which the earthquake spreads
Round the proud race of man! and who shall tell,
Within the viewless beings of that scene,
There may not be some life as dear to heaven,
As the most great and noble of mankind?

VEN. (*to servants*). 'Tis plain he's mad—the man call'd me a fool! [*Exeunt servants.*

HER. I would possess her undivided heart,
But while her husband lives this cannot be.
He cannot pay—the law gives me his person!
What! art thou there again? [*The fiend re-appears.*
Seek Gondibert,
And send him to me, fetter'd, to the castle. [*Exit fiend.*
The Emp'ror has depriv'd him of his trusts,
And may I not in his despair of fortune,
Tempt him to part with her? But I have broken
The slender tie I held in her esteem!
Oh! it is easier in the fiend to shiver
The globe itself into its elements,
Than to constrain the light that beams in her,
To mingle with the fire accurs'd in me!
Did I the Palatine's request fulfil,
It might appease her to forget the insult;
I'll take the bonds and tear them in her presence,
Confess the wrongs, in madness, I have done,
And so again recover my lost vantage;
Thence, thence, once more find footing for my love!
Ha! who doth whisper to me this device,
Making such thoughts, abhorr'd, spontaneous come,
Like Herod's worms that grew within his blood?—
It is the fiend, with which I am possess'd!
Oh, Beatrice! my guilty love of thee,
Hath wreck'd my everlasting life of life,
Upon the burning shoals of raging hell! [*Exit Herman.*

SCENE III.—THE INTERIOR OF A CHURCH.

BENEDICT *and* PRIOR.

BEN. I found him leaning o'er a splinter fire,
The crimson light struck strong on his dark visage,

And 'neath his gather'd brows of stern abstraction,
His deep-set eyes like embers seem'd to burn,
His garb was faded, e'en the stone he sat on
Accorded with his mien.—It had been once
A flourish'd capital, Corinthian work,
But of the acanthus scarcely aught remain'd,
And all around was grandeur chang'd and fallen:—
See where he comes!

PRIOR. He beckons you towards him.

Enter HERMAN.

HER. Leave us, good father. [*Exit Prior.*
Is the Prior gone?

BEN. He is.

HER. Art thou at leisure to attend me?

BEN. Shall I then enter the confessional?

HER. No, father, for I come not to confess
The sins I have done, but what I would do.
Hungry as hell, love rages in my blood,
And guilt is needful to complete the joys.
You are a priest, a soldier of the church,
And bound as such, by all imagin'd ways,
To spread her glory and exalt her power.
If, by the help of your shrewd casuistry,
The saint I worship will vouchsafe her favour,
All my inheritance I will resign,
Into your hands, for a religious use.

BEN. Hence from this holy roof, thou wretch accurs'd!

HER. The flash that strikes the single traveller dead,
Renews the vital spirit of the air;
The storm, that sinks the beggar'd merchant's treasures,
Purges the hov'ring vapour of disease;
And all particular ills, bring general good:

Apply the moral, and then think what good
Thou may'st do with the riches I will give.
BEN. I 'll hear no more. Alas! 'tis ever thus;
The heart that cherishes forbidden passion,
Is apt for every crime. Who, and what art thou?
HER. A wretch abandoned to his evil genius.
BEN. It is not fit that such should roam the earth;
I do arrest thee here for sacrilege.
HER. Presumptuous monk! dar'st thou lay hands on me?
Where is my faithful demon? [*The fiend appears.*
Seize that friar!—
Why dost thou pause, and beckon me away?
BEN. To whom, lost man, dost thou address thyself?
HER. See'st thou not him?
BEN. There 's no one in this place.
HER. Dost thou not see that dark and awful form
Standing between us? Look! the earth uncloses,
And he sinks down, having no power o'er thee.
[*The demon sinks—Herman rushes off, followed by the monk* *.

SCENE IV.—THE CASTLE SEEN AT A DISTANCE.

Enter GONDIBERT, *with his hands tied behind, attended by officers.*

GON. O he was to me, in my earliest kindness,
As my own image in the faithful glass.
When first I saw it there, I thought it him,
And kiss'd it for my playmate. In our youth,
He grew still dearer, even by his faults,

* This incident of the apparition is borrowed from Lord Byron's Manfred; his Lordship took it from Pickersgill, who helped himself to the thought from the scene between Saul and the Witch of En-dor.

For they were all that in his glorious nature
Made him submit to my companionship.—
Had oracles and martyrs from their shrines,
Told me that ever his ingenuous spirit
Could have endured so base a transmutation,
I had replied to them with blasphemies.
But he is changed, and will not be appeased,
Till he has quench'd his vengeance in my blood.
My fortune blasted, and my honour gone,
To kill me now were merciful;—but come,
Conduct me to the maniac's dread abode. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE V.—A GALLERY; *a star seen opposite the window at the further end.*

Enter HERMAN.

My natal star, whose pure and silv'ry eye
Hath been shut up so long, again uncloses,
Though with a troubled and uncertain light;
It is as if the fiends and angels fought
Between me and the glory of its beams.
Surely some dreadful business now awaits me,
That thus its splendour is so pale and shiver'd.—
My trembling household think me shook with frenzy,
And every deadly weapon have concealed,
So work the guardian spirits that would save me;
For now that Gondibert is in my power,
The clotted thoughts of murder thicken in me.
Lo—where he comes; would that I had a knife!

[*The fiend enters, and gives him a dagger from its skeleton hand, and in passing off the stage, turns round its skeleton head.*

Enter GONDIBERT, *his arms bound.*

SIR GON. Hold—hold! Count Herman, hold thy desp'rate hand!
I have no weapon to defend myself.
Though the famed promise of thy youth be withered,
Thou art not yet so fallen from all goodness,
As to destroy me like a foul assassin.
HER. Ah! blood for blood; I have shed mine for thine.
SIR GON. You speak in riddles that I cannot read,
But if your maniac hatred claims my life,
It must be yours, for I am in your power.
HER. Prepare thyself, thou hast not long to live;
Thy hands are bound, but still thy limbs are free,
And thou may'st kneel to heaven, yet while I strike;
In that—in that thou art the happier man,
For I dare never kneel to heaven more.
SIR GON. Alas! mysterious and ill-fated being!—
HER. Down on thy knees! I give thee leave to pray.
SIR GON. (*kneels.*) Not for myself, but for this guilty man,
To whose eternal woe I thus must die,
I do implore thy mercy to descend.

[*Herman several times makes an effort to strike, and the star contracts its lustre; at last he bursts into tears, flings away the dagger, falls on the neck of Gondibert, and the star shines out with great splendour.*

END OF ACT II.

ACT III.

SCENE I.—Chamber.

HERMAN (*solus*).

Her virtues and his worth have conquer'd me;
Yes—in her presence reigns a holiness
Checking the taint of guilt in my desires,
Like that unknown renown'd Egyptian gum,
Whose sovereign quality denied corruption,
And kept the dead in everlasting beauty.
But the dire fiend, that will not speak but do,
Will not forego the bargain he has made,
And I must still be lost—for ever lost!

Enter LUDOLPH.

LUD. My Lord—— He is again wrapt up in gloom,
What if his frenzy should return! My Lord—
HER. Ha! honest Ludolph! Wherefore stand you back?
Give me thy hand, old friend. Is thy task done?
Hast thou deliver'd to Sir Gondibert
Those fatal bonds?
LUD. I have, my Lord.
HER. Thank Heav'n!
But did you see them torn?
LUD. I gave them to him.
HER. Thou hast but half thy duty done, old man:
Again go to him, move not from his presence,
Till thou hast seen them utterly destroy'd,
That hell, which cannot re-create, may never
By spell or conjuration bring them back;
Away, and come not till thou hast done this!

[*Exit Ludolph.*

The demon is my slave, and though no more
I claim his power against fair Beatrice,
I may employ him to redeem the wrongs
Which hang like mildew on her husband's fame.
Come once again to me, thou dreadful thing!—
It comes not yet.—Has my good angel won?
I dare not trust that hope, but still must call.
Come! I invoke thee by my forfeit soul!

[*The fiend appears, with averted head, and indicating, by the motion of his hands, reluctance.*

How! dar'st thou question what I may command?
Slave, do thy tasks! I know, when I am thine,
Thou wilt not spare me in thy burning hests!
Go to the Birder's court, and there undo
The wrong thou did'st for me on Gondibert.—
A little space serves for an evil deed!
How quick he was to work for me that ill;
But now, when I the mischief would repair—
What, not yet gone? By that eternal doom,
Which makes thy bondmen crave increase of pain,
As blessed spirits after bliss aspire,
I will be answered by thine act in this!

[*The fiend vanishes, and Herman walks thoughtfully across the stage.*

Enter SERVANT.

SERV. My lord, my lord!
HER. Why come you on me thus?
SERV. The servants of the Holy Inquisition
Demand your presence in St. Leonard's Abbey.
HER. I will attend them. [*Exit Servant.*
—One day more—but one,
And I must answer to a dreader summons.

[*Exit Herman.*

SCENE II.—The Woods; (*day-break.*)

Huntsmen, Lunenburgh, *and* Bernstein.

Chorus.

1st Hunt. Sound the bugle!
2d Hunt. The bugle sounds.
3d Hunt. Hark! the echo,
The echo replies;
Omnes. And the huntsman,
The huntsman and hounds,
Chide the morning—
O morning arise!

Lun. To horse, companions; see, at length the dawn,
Blushing behind her curtain in the cloud,
As if asham'd that she had slept so long,
Lets forth her glorious paramour the sun,
To share our sport.

Bern. Where lies the chace to day?

Lun. In the black forest; there a savage boar,
Shaggy and grim, like a fierce tyrant rages,
And scares the hinds and honest villagers
From their accustomed pastimes. Not long since,
He burst upon them, and with murd'rous tusks,
Snatch'd from the midst a wise and learned man,
A doctor from the University,
By chance, spectator of their harmless pleasure.
The Birder, our brave emperor, hearing this,
Has vow'd with hound and horn to hunt him out.
But we are summoned—all the court are hors'd;
And see, his Majesty himself sets forward.

[*The Court pass to the chase; soon after the boar crosses the stage, and the hunt begins.*

SCENE III.—The Church of St. Leonard's. *The Members of the Inquisition assembled.*

The Prior *and* Benedict.

Prior. You heard his servant, Rugenstein, confess,
How he foreknew the Palatine was dead;
And when the messenger the tidings brought,
He ask'd, as one all privy to the scene,
For papers that the old man had bequeathed.
These things are of themselves appalling proof
Of leagues accurst, and damning sorceries.
What shall we then say of those horrors done
Beneath this sacred roof?

Ben. See, he is here.

(Herman *brought in.*)

Prior. Count Herman!

Her. Well, sir!

Prior. You shall answer me—

Her. Shall! I attend your question.

Prior. We have heard—

Her. What have you heard?

Prior. Hear us, and then reply.
It has been told, say if the tale be true,
An ancient man, hoary and wild and strange,
Cloth'd in the garb of some untravell'd land,
Came to you in the forest—some believe
He was that wretch who never shall know death—
And nine times offer'd you a magic book,
Lock'd with huge brazen clasps, which you refused,
Till the ninth time; oh, had you *that* withstood!

Her. What might have then ensued?

PRIOR. Within that book
None may without eternal peril read!
HER. Think ye I would confess against myself?
INQUIS. Hear him no more, but to the rack with him!
HER. And so extort the truth! Hold! yet forbear;
I know not what your riving wheels may force
From out my torments.—I may then accuse
Even you, my Lord Inquisitor, as one
That shares the guilt and pleasures of my sins.
PRIOR. He is not to be daunted by the rack.
We'll try his faith by a more certain test;—
See, how the earthquake rent our sacred dome.—
Will you rebuild the abbey?
HER. Ha! will that
Be taken as a surety for my soul?
If towers on towers, and sculptur'd churches, pil'd
Higher than Babel, would but serve for that!—
As in the earthquake, when the mountain fell,
Your church was shaken, it is meet that I
Should use the means I used, to set it right.—
It shall be done.
PRIOR. We can desire no more.
My lord, we are content—you may depart.

[*Exeunt all but Benedict and Herman; Benedict retiring, Herman calls him back.*

HER. I would converse with thee, good man, alone.
There's a disease philosophy disowns,
In which 'tis said the living frame of man
Begets an actual fire within itself—
And I have caught it—oh! it kindles *here*.
I could not think, till I had felt this pain,
How sweet a boon consenting nature gave
To weary mortals in that sleep of rest,
Beneath the grassy blanket of the grave.

BEN. But to lie down, while yet the pulse beats high,
Like an inglorious sluggard in his task,
Bating the sin, is an unmanly part.

HER. Disease and accident, and battle wounds,
Set the soul free while in its noblest vigour,
And wherefore, when it sinks so low as mine,
Should it remain imprison'd in the flesh,
A living being to a carcase chain'd!

BEN. My Lord!

HER. —I think the mind, when it despairs,
Is with a deadly malady oppress'd,
And to relieve it, instinct prompts the hand.

BEN. Oh, know you not my lord where they must go,
Who do that sin which cannot be repented?

HER. Where'er it is, they take their fate with them,
And cannot suffer, in another place,
A fiercer hell than burns within them here.
But I have gain'd one deep and dreadful secret,
By the stern quests of my unsocial science.

BEN. Ah! what is it?

HER. When the self-slaughter'd falls,
He but fulfills some compact made before,
With the eternal enemy of man.

BEN. My lord, my lord, what do these words portend?

HER. Why only, that this being All Soul's Eve,
I would that thou shouldst in thy requiems think
Of forfeit spirits that can hope no more.—
When you at midnight hear—

BEN. What, my dear lord?

HER. Fall on your knees and weep,—

BEN. For whom?

HER. For me.

[*Exeunt Herman and Benedict.*

SCENE IV.—The Landscape, and the Gate of Herman's Castle.

Enter Emperor, Lunenburgh, *&c., &c.*

Emp. It is a vain pursuit,—call in my train.
I'd rather bide the shock of twenty tiltings,
Than such another day's determined chase.
Thrice was the dreadful boar at my spear's point,
And thrice the weapon shiver'd in my grasp,
And he escap'd unhurt! Know you this castle?

Lun. It is Count Herman's.

Emp. No; it cannot be!

Lun. It was the Palatine's preferred retreat.
How changed is all around! See how Neglect
Sits on the rushy margin of the lake,
Spreading her mantling weeds, while Ruin leans,
With ivy tendrils dangling in her hand,
From the lone battlements of yonder tower.

Emp. The place denotes a poor or sullen master;
But be he what he may, here we must roost;
So wind the horn that hangs there at the gate.

[*An attendant winds the horn, and Ventose, as seneschal, comes out.*

Ven. What Nimrods are ye, that invade our bounds,
Which, save the pretty paw of nimble hare,
Or the cleft sandal of the simple fawn,
Nor hoof nor heel impresses.

Lun. Ah, Ventose!

Ven. My wise Lord Lunenburgh!

Lun. How cam'st thou here?

Ven. Have you not heard of that outrageous boar
That dared with rav'nous throat to seize on me,
And had devour'd, doubtless, but for Count Herman

Who, with a voice tuned to a high command,
Met the grim ravisher, and me rescued?

EMP. Art thou that learned doctor?

VEN. I am he.
And I, in gratitude to brave Count Herman,
Well he deserves the name, have here become
His castle's seneschal, an honour'd office,
Richly endow'd with largess and with fee,
And gay habiliments, behold, to boot.—
Walk in, my Lord.

LUN. Go, let your master know
The Emperor will be his guest to-night.

VEN. Ring the alarm bell—let the trumpets shout
The Emperor! the Emperor! My Lord,
When will his dreadful majesty be here?
In, in, my Lord; let all your servants aid.
Stop, fellow, stop! my Lord takes precedence.

LUN. That is his Majesty.

[*Exeunt all to the castle but Ventose.*

VEN. O mercy, mercy!
Was ever treason, and high treason too,
So guileless done by honest man before?
I shall be hang'd for this,—devoted man!

[*He rushes in despair against Herman, who is entering, and then flees into the castle.*

HERMAN, *solus.*

The peasants say it is the Emperor.
Fiend, Fiend, attend!—I will brook no delay.

[*The fiend appears.*

Thou hast done well to send the Emperor here—
Prepare a banquet meet for such a guest. [*Exit fiend.*
The day is far declined,—the setting sun—
Ha! what is that between me and the sun?

A visionary arm whose hand doth hold
A time-glass, and the sands are all run out.—
O! I must hasten, while there is yet time,
To intercede for injured Gondibert. [*Exit Herman.*

SCENE V.—The Banquet Hall.

The Emperor, *and all the Dramatis Personæ but the fiend. Music, &c.—The music stops, and the Emperor comes forward with Herman.*

Emp. At your request, most kind and liberal host,
He shall in all his honours be replaced.
Her. It is enough; your Majesty so wills it.—
But I had hoped that his own worth and service
Were of themselves sufficient.—Gondibert!
His Majesty is pleased that you again
Return to court: do homage for the boon.
[*Gondibert kneels to the Emperor.*
(*Apart.*) The ill I did, still lacks in reparation.
Emp. My Lord, upon our eyelids sits dull Sleep,
Pressing them down: again, with thanks, good night!
[*Exeunt all but Gondibert, Herman, and Beatrice.*
Her. He 's gone—they all are gone—stay you, my friend!
Gon. How deeply, Herman, am I still your debtor!
Bea. My Lord, my generous friend, what moves you thus?
Her. I have done all to heal the harm I did you
Within the compass of my desp'rate means.
Can you forgive me yet?
Beat. and Gon. We do! we do!
Gon. 'Tis late, dear Herman, let us part to-night.
Her. Yes: we must part.
Beat. My Lord!
Her. What is the hour?
Gon. Nearing to midnight.

HER. No, no,—not so late.
I saw but now upon the western hills
The setting sun. As a refulgent spirit,
After a glorious transit o'er the earth,
Moves into Heaven, he parted from my sight;
But mine must, like a pale and falling star,
Be headlong cast, and quench'd in utter darkness.

GON. Herman! dear Herman!

HER. O! your hands, your hands!
Time drags me on.—Upon my burning brow
I feel the coming demon's breath of flame.
Air! give me air! O, let me taste once more
That living freshness in the breath of Heaven!

[*Beatrice throws open a large window at the upper end of the hall.*

BEAT. O look, my Lord, to yonder starry sky;
It is, methinks, the wing of Providence,
All speckled over with bright, wakeful eyes,
Cov'ring and watching all.

HER Ah, how they speed!
I see but there the restless orbs of time,
Like harbingers of some dread execution,
All marching onward and will not be stay'd.
Why is this universal haste in Nature?
Stand still, stand still! Oh yet, while there is time!
I'll call the fiend to stop their fatal speed.

[*The clock strikes.*

It is too late.—He comes! he comes! he comes!

[*A cloud overspreads the sky as the clock strikes twelve.—Thunder and lightning.—The demon is seen in the cloud.—Gondibert and Beatrice fall on their knees.—Herman stands fascinated with horror.*

GON. As we forgave the wrongs he did to us,

O let him be forgiven? As he was wont
To stretch his arm to succour the distress'd,
Let his good angel drive the fiend away,
And from this everlasting peril save him.

[*A stupendous arm appears from a bright cloud, and pushes the demon down, in the midst of thunder and lightning.—All the Dramatis Personæ come rushing into the room, the clouds disappear, the star shines out, and a grand chorus sing in the air.*

CHORUS.

A soul is redeem'd,—glad tidings in Heaven,
The seraphs high peans of thankfulness sing;
The seal from the paction of horror is riven;
Shout anthems of glory, and praise to the King!

THE END.

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